. XXIX. No. 116 December 1940

STUDIES

n Irish Quarterly Review

Arbitration in Labour Disputes ..	*Cornelius Lucey*
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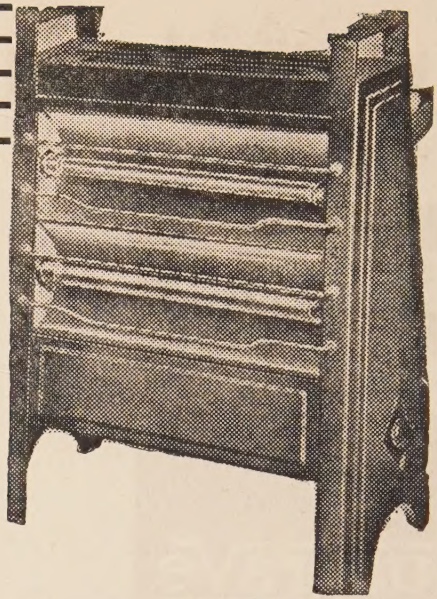

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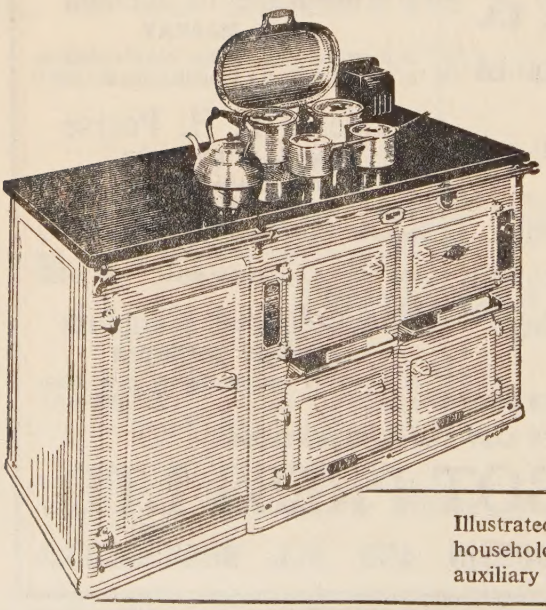

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VOL. XXIX No. 116

STUDIES

An Irish Quarterly Review

DECEMBER 1940

CONTENTS

			PAGE
I.	CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION IN LABOUR DISPUTES	*Cornelius Lucey, M.A., D.D.*	497
II.	PALESTINE UNDER ROMAN CONTROL, 63 B.C. TO 66 A.D.	*Mgr. P. Canon Boylan, D.D., D.Litt.*	513
III.	THE NATURAL HISTORY OF LITERATURE	*Gerard Murphy, M.A.*	530
IV.	EARLY IRISH JESUIT EDUCATORS	*Professor T. Corcoran, S.J.*	545
V.	THE DUTCH EAST INDIES	*James Meenan, M.A.*	561
VI.	A NEGLECTED CORNER OF IRISH HISTORY ..	*Dr. Richard Hayes*	572
VII.	RUDOLF THURNEYSEN : 1857-1940	*John Ryan, S.J.*	583
VIII.	IRISH CONTRIBUTION TO COLONIAL NEW YORK	*Prof. Richard J. Purcell, Ph.D.*	591
IX.	THE MAGINOT LINE : REALITY OR DREAM?	*Colonel J. J. O'Connell, M.A.*	605
X.	IRISH BARDIC POEMS—No. 56	*Lambert McKenna, S.J.*	615
XI.	NEW ZEALAND AND IRELAND : A PARALLEL STUDY	*Prof. George O'Brien, D.Litt.*	623
XII.	REVIEWS OF BOOKS :		

We would see Jesus, 629.—The Mystical Theology of Saint Bernard, 630.—Sketches and Studies in Theology, 630.—The Love of God, 631.—Salazar, 632.—Spanish Tudor, 634.—Life and Thought in the Greek and Roman World, 636.—Old Irish Links with France, 638.—Country and Town in Ireland under the Georges, 639.—Le Roi Hérode et autres Essais, 643.—The Herods of Judea, 643.—Ireland in the Age of Reform and Revolution, 645.—Italy in the Making, 647.—Mexico, 649.—Last Poems and Plays by W. B. Yeats, 650.—Scattering Branches, 650.—The Papacy and the Modern State, 653.—The Problem of Matter and Form in the " De Ente et Essentia " of Thomas Aquinas, 655.—Saint Thomas and the Greeks, 655.

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CONCILIATION AND ARBITRATION IN LABOUR DISPUTES

BY REV. CORNELIUS LUCEY, M.A., D.D., D.PH.
St. Patrick's College, Maynooth

THE consequences of a strike or lockout may be so serious for the workers, the employers, and the whole community that most countries have made efforts to forestall or settle labour disputes by setting up special machinery to promote conciliation and arbitration. This may take a variety of forms : conciliation and arbitration under collective agreements ; statutory—but voluntary—conciliation and arbitration ; compulsory conciliation and investigation ; and compulsory arbitration.

In the year 1936, in the June issue of *Studies* and under the caption " Strikes and Compulsory Arbitration," the case for compulsory arbitration in industrial disputes was outlined and commented on. The present article is not a restatement of that case. And, on the other hand, neither is it a retractation of the proposals then made. It is intended rather to suggest why the idea of compulsory arbitration did not take at the time, why the prospects are brighter now, and what the minimum immediate action is which we should demand of the State in this matter of keeping the peace between employers and workers.

Briefly, the reasoning in the previous article was this—Strikes (and lockouts) occasion the gravest material, social and moral evils both to the participants themselves and to the general public, while providing no guarantee whatsoever that matters in dispute will get settled according to their merits. Mediation, conciliation, voluntary arbitration, compulsory investigation—all of these help to lessen the number of strikes ; but experience and commonsense alike tell us that nothing short of compulsory arbitration will eliminate the strike altogether. *De facto*, several even of the democratic countries, notably Australia and New Zealand, have already

adopted compulsory arbitration; so obviously the system can be neither unworkable nor dictatorial. In particular, it is sure to prove a boon to the agricultural labourer, to the woman worker and to others who have no trade unions to defend their interests. Consequently we in this country, who have so little machinery for the peaceful adjustment of industrial disputes at present, should take the necessary steps at once to set up competent and impartial labour courts, devise a code of social legislation for their guidance, and secure that their awards shall be observed by employers and employees alike. Compulsory arbitration of this kind admittedly is not the ideal; but at any rate it constitutes a more rational, a more convenient, and a more Christian way of adjusting differences between employers and their staffs than the strike does.

At the time of my former article, to take sides with those advocating compulsory arbitration was very definitely to take the unpopular side. The public were not prepared to accept, much less to demand, a general ban on all strikes. Perhaps it was because the word "compulsory" suggested in some unreasoning way the idea of dictatorship, and the idea of dictatorship was abhorrent to most people; perhaps it was because Britain would have nothing to do with compulsory arbitration, and we thought Britain wiser and more experienced in industrial matters than ourselves; perhaps it was because people believed Capital and Labour were gradually coming to recognise that strikes are futile and wasteful as compared with agreements by conciliation or voluntary arbitration; perhaps it was because the full extent to which they are in the firing line, when civil war breaks out on the industrial front, had not yet come home to the general public, and so they regarded strikes as still purely private disputes, the concern only of the employer and employee engaging in them. Or perhaps it was for all these reasons together, coupled with the very potent fact that organised labour in the country loathed the proposal, seeing in it a sinister move to destroy the power of the trade union and the independence of the working man.

That was four years ago. Nothing was done then, and nothing has been done since, by the State in the matter. The Industrial Courts Act, 1919, is still our most up-to-date, if not our only, legislation on the adjustment of industrial troubles. In fact, as late as March 13th last, the following motion in the Seanad, proposed by Senator James Douglas and seconded by Senator Hayes, failed to elicit any governmental response :—" That Seanad Eireann would welcome the introduction by the Government of a Bill generally amending the law in relation to trade disputes, and in particular providing for the establishment of a permanent industrial court for the examination of industrial disputes and the promulgation of advisory judgments." And when an amendment was moved in the Seanad, on April 10th of this year, to the Fire Brigade Bill, outlawing the use of the lightning strike in the fire-fighting services, it was negatived at the instance of the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Local Government by 23 votes to 11.

Industry itself has been somewhat more progressive. Joint Industrial Councils and Joint Boards of Conciliation on a purely voluntary basis—for instance, in the Building Trade, in the Woollen and Worsted Industry, in the Boot and Shoe Industry, etc.—have been set up, providing useful machinery for the peaceful discussion and adjustment of disputes. These undoubtedly constitute a great step forward. But they hardly constitute a sufficient step forward. For one thing, they are mere gentleman's agreements, and we all know how easily gentleman's agreements are broken when it suits either of the contracting parties to break them—especially if no sanctions are provided for in these agreements. Secondly, they are no guarantee against unofficial strikes. Thirdly, they are not sufficiently numerous—many industries have no Joint Councils or Boards of any kind.

To-day, public opinion seems all in favour of curbing the use of the strike weapon—and curbing it severely—while the Government seems less dedicated to the principle of non-intervention, as witness its action in connection with the threatened stoppage in the bakery trade last

September. The reasons for this change of front are not far to seek.

In the first place, our people no longer take fright at the idea of strong government. They have come to realise that disciplined democracy is not dictatorship and that in fact, if democracy is to survive at all, it must provide some measure of social control over employers, workers, and all others whose activities have a bearing on the common good of the whole community. What more democratic, therefore, than to control the right to strike and lockout, if that right is being abused or if the purpose of it can be better achieved by more peaceful means.

No less important is the fact that on July 25th of the present year Great Britain declared against strike action, at least for the duration of the war. By the Conditions of Employment and National Arbitration Order, 1940, made by the Minister of Labour in consultation with the National Joint Advisory Council, a National Arbitration Tribunal of five—three permanent members appointed by the State and, for each sitting of the Tribunal, two members selected from panels representative of the Employers' Federation and the T.U.C. respectively—was established with power to adjudicate on all disputes referred to it by the Minister and make awards binding on the employers and the workers concerned. Under the Order strikes and lockouts are forbidden, unless the dispute is first reported to the Minister and twenty-one days have elapsed without reference of the dispute by him for settlement by voluntary conciliation or arbitration; only if there is failure to reach a settlement voluntarily, or if the negotiations are unduly delayed, will the Minister refer the matter to the Tribunal for compulsory settlement.

In 1936 people thought the era of strikes was fast passing. But to-day even confirmed optimists are beginning to doubt if Capital and Labour can ever be trusted to settle their differences of opinion without frequent recourse to the arbitrament of force. And with good reason, for the Statistics of Industrial Disputes over the past few years reveal the unpleasant fact that stoppages in this country, so far from diminish-

ing, are rather on the increase. The following Table, complied from statistics supplied by the Department of Industry and Commerce, gives the tell-tale figures.

Year	1932	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938	1939
Number of Disputes begun ...	70	88	99	99	107	145	137	99
Number of Workers involved ...	4,222	9,059	9,288	9,513	9,443	26,734	13,736	6,667
Number of Working days lost ...	42,152	200,126	180,070	288,077	185,623	1,754,949	208,784	106,476

In fact the year 1937 saw one of the most protracted, bitter and futile stoppages we have had in this country since the great Larkin strike in 1913. This was the Dublin Building Trade Strike. It may not be amiss to recall the details of this strike, so illustrative are they of all the worst aspects of active industrial warfare. The strike began on April 1st with a partial stoppage involving the bricklayers and plasterers, but by April 13th all the operatives in the trade had become involved, and a stoppage involving over eleven thousand workers was on. After some time a section of the smaller contractors came to terms with their men ; but the main body continued the struggle, and, despite all efforts at conciliation and mediation, a settlement was not finally effected until October 4th. On a computation of the rates of pay obtaining before the strike, the aggregate loss in wages to the men amounted to approximately £650,000. As strike pay came to no more than £182,000 in all, this meant an absolute loss to the workers—and consequently to business generally in the city—of about £468,000. When the stoppage began, contracts to the value of £2,000,000 were on hands, and a housing scheme to the value of £483,000 was being prepared by the Dublin Corporation. All these projects were held up while the strike lasted ; many of them were abandoned altogether.

And for what was this six months' war of attrition waged ? No principle was at stake. The parties exhausted themselves to a standstill about a trifling fraction in wage rates. The original demand of the unions involved—seventeen in all—

was a general increase in wage rates of 3d. per hour. The employers' offer to this, made some time after the strike began but never formally referred to the workers as a body, was :— *Skilled Workers :* an increase of 1½d. per hour forthwith and a further ½d. per hour from June 1st, 1938. *Unskilled Workers :* (a) an increase of 1½d. per hour in Dublin City and Dun Laoghaire, (b) a new rate of 1s. 3d. per hour for the semi-urban areas and 1s. 1½d. per hour for the purely rural areas of County Dublin. The ultimate settlement was more or less an acceptance of this offer—except that, in the case of the unskilled worker, it stipulated for the additional ½d. on resumption instead of on June 1st, 1938, together with 6d. per day tool-money for carpenters and joiners, and that it granted an additional ½d. per hour six months after resumption in the case of unskilled operatives in the Dublin—Dun Laoghaire area.

Years of steady employment at the new rates would not recoup the workers for the sum in wages lost by them while on strike. Years of even boom conditions in the building trade—unless, as is more than possible, they were covered by insurance against the stoppage—would not compensate the master builders for the profits forgone and the expense of maintaining idle and therefore rapidly depreciating plant. *De facto*, the building trade has never since enjoyed even the semblance of prosperity. The workers, though they get more pay per hour now than they did in March, 1937, get less constant employment and less total pay per annum ; the master builders get less contracts and less profits ; and the public get fewer and dearer houses.

While this disastrous war of attrition went on in the building trade, six whole months were frittered away in futile efforts to reach a compromise settlement which a competent Labour Tribunal could have effected in a few hours. In the end the Minister for Industry and Commerce had perforce to intervene and personally to preside at the conferences of the negotiating committees. No wonder citizens began to ask themselves why he had not intervened at first. No wonder they began to feel the need for some new system to replace

the fumbling methods which go by the name of " strikes " and " negotiations for settlement," and which bring neither profit nor credit to employer or worker.

But what more than all else have been responsible for the changed attitude of the public towards the strike are the epidemic of stoppages in the public transport service in recent years and the big strike of the Dublin municipal workers in the early spring of the present year. For these have brought home to the average citizen that strikes now-a-days can be very much his concern ; though no party to the actual dispute, he may find himself none the less incommoded, if not positively injured, by it. Discuss strikes with anybody from Kildare, or Cavan, or even Terenure, who has had the experience of being stranded at the terminus in Aston Quay by one of the several lightning strikes we have had in the Bus Service, or who has realised what a menace to public health and safety the unemptied refuse bins, the unmanned fire-fighting appliances and the rest were during the municipal employees' strike in Dublin, and you are sure to be told that " something must be done about them."

Before we go on to suggest what that " something " ought to be, a word on the attitude of organised labour is necessary. There is no doubt that all our trade unions, convinced that the right to strike is a *sine qua non* of their right to exist, bitterly oppose the principle of compulsory arbitration. Equally, there is no doubt that if compulsory arbitration is introduced against the wishes of the trade unions, it will foster a sense of grievance among them and may lead to the use of sabotage and direct action. Far better the strike, with all its attendant evils, than a discontented and resentful working class, or weak and ineffective trade unions.

Perhaps the trade unions would be less intransigent in their opposition if they only realised that trade unionism has survived the adoption of compulsory arbitration in Australia and New Zealand, and that in fact, organised labour in those countries actually favours the system. Secondly, they should bear in mind that compulsory arbitration does not by any means do away with the principle and practice of collective

bargaining; it merely prevents the use of extreme economic pressure when the bargain cannot be struck peaceably. Compulsory arbitration is not a substitute for mediation, conciliation and voluntary arbitration, but a supplement to them. Thirdly, they should disabuse themselves of the Marxist notion that a State tribunal will necessarily be more partial to the employer than to the worker. In actual fact, the decisions of the proposed Labour Courts would be no more at the mercy of the whim and good conscience of the judges than the decisions of the regular civil and criminal courts are at the moment; compulsory arbitration presupposes a definite code of labour law, which it is the duty of the Labour Courts to interpret and apply.

In technical language, all industrial disputes are either disputes about rights or disputes about interests. Roughly speaking, we may describe as disputes about rights all disputes as to the interpretation of some existing private contract or collective agreement; disputes about interests, on the other hand, are disputes arising out of a claim for the modification of an existing agreement or the establishment of a new one. Obviously neither category of dispute gives scope for a free hand to the Labour Courts. Disputes about rights have to be settled in accordance with the letter of the original agreement, and the Court can do no more than decide the objective meaning of the clauses of the contract and their application in the concrete circumstances. Disputes about interests, it is true, give some scope for initiative on the part of the adjudicators. But fundamentally they, too, have to be resolved in accordance with law—namely, the Conditions of Employment Act, the Wages Act, and the other labour laws that a rational system of compulsory arbitration presupposes.

Personally I believe that the case for compulsory adjustment of all industrial disputes without exception is incontrovertible—and, what is more, that not only the community as a whole, but the workers themselves as well stand to gain materially and morally by the adoption of the system. However, it is one thing to believe in the principle of compulsory arbitration and another thing to believe that it should be put

into practice forthwith here in Ireland. The prerequisites for the successful working of compulsory arbitration are :— (*a*) impartial industrial courts commanding the confidence of Capital and Labour alike ; (*b*) a comprehensive code of industrial law for the guidance of these courts ; (*c*) sanctions sufficient to secure the observance, by both employers and employees, of the courts' awards. These prerequisites are very obviously wanting in this country at the moment. Not until we have vocational organisation in some form or other and the workers are educated into trusting the arbitration tribunals and loyally abiding by their decisions, can it be said that the time is ripe for the establishment of these tribunals among us. At the moment, therefore, it would be foolish to legislate compulsory arbitration into existence all at once and for all workers, occupations and disputes indiscriminately.

But it would be equally foolish to continue the present *laissez faire* attitude towards industrial disputes. Abuse of the strike weapon must be prevented at all costs and at once by the State, the ultimate guardian of the common good. To this end three measures seem called for. These are compulsory arbitration for all essential services ; compulsory investigation, involving the abolition of the lightning strike and the unofficial strike, for all other services ; and the establishment of Joint Industrial Councils and Conciliation Boards in every branch of industry and for every service.

The first of these measures entails the legal prohibition—under penalty of dismissal, fine, imprisonment, or other sufficient sanction—of all collective stoppages of work in undertakings which serve public interests and the closing down of which would endanger the existence and health of the people, or the economic and social life of the country. Chief among these undertakings are the public transport services ; gas and electricity works ; water and power distribution works; mills, bakeries and slaughter-houses ; cemeteries, hospitals, mental homes, orphanages, prisons and the like ; sewage, street cleaning and fire-fighting undertakings ; public health services ; banks and all postal services ; and finally all offices attached to such undertakings. The maintenance of

these and similar services is obviously vital for the community. Consequently, the State is not only entitled but bound to take the necessary precautions to prevent paralysis of them.

But in exchange for the loss of the right to strike wage-earning and salaried employees in such undertakings must receive special legal protection. Perhaps special Boards, analogous to the present Agricultural Wages Boards —but with the employers' representatives and the workers' representatives selected by the employers and workers respectively instead of nominated by the Government—would afford the necessary protection, if they were empowered to fix wage rates, hours, conditions of work, etc., subject to the sanction of the Minister. In fact the preparation of rules putting the staffs of the aforementioned undertakings on a footing somewhat like that of civil servants, may be taken as the necessary legal counterpart of the deprivation of the right to strike.

"Compulsory arbitration for essential public services, compulsory investigation for all other services and undertakings"—such, I insist, is the minimum demand that will guarantee the community against abuse of the strike and the lockout. Compulsory investigation requires the parties to a dispute to produce books and documents, to testify under oath, and to discharge other obligations necessary for a thorough investigation of the case made by them. More important still, it presupposes the prohibition of strikes and lockouts before or during the proceedings of the investigating tribunal. But unlike compulsory arbitration, in which the tribunal undertakes to compel a settlement of the dispute by forcing the parties to abide by its award, compulsory investigation does not forbid recourse to a strike or lockout once the investigation is complete. Its purpose is rather to publish the facts concerning a dispute and by these facts to guide public opinion—thereby bringing pressure to bear on the unreasonable party and smoothing the way to a voluntary settlement. The board of inquiry appointed recently by the Government to examine and report on the dispute between the master-bakers

and their staff may be regarded as an example of compulsory investigation in practice.

The advantages of compulsory investigation of this kind are many. In the first place, it leaves the right to strike still intact. Secondly, it prevents precipitate action on the part of either side. Thirdly, it enables the public to get an impartial account of the pros and cons in the dispute and so to give their sympathies to the aggrieved party. Finally, it is sure to lead in the majority of cases to a settlement without recourse to the strike weapon. The drawbacks of the system are mainly twofold. One is that the system is not effective enough, because at times the parties may be in a position to defy public opinion, or the public—when the stoppage is one likely to cause them little direct loss or inconvenience—may take no interest whatever in the proceedings. The other drawback is that it often requires the workers to defer strike action at strategic times when they can use their power of collective bargaining with special effectiveness, while it allows the employers to make adequate arrangements to meet the stoppage. However, this disadvantage can be minimised somewhat by having a time-limit within which the investigating court must present its report.

Several countries have adopted compulsory conciliation along these lines, prohibiting by law recourse to strikes or lockouts during the conciliation proceedings. This is the case, for example, in Canada, Rumania, Yugoslavia, Chili and Venezuela. As a rule, penalties in the shape of fines or imprisonment are prescribed for breaches of the prohibition wherever strikes or lockouts are banned in this way, though sometimes the penalty takes the form rather of the withdrawal of certain privileges. For example, in Belgium the penalty is the disqualification of the offending workers from receiving public assistance of any kind during the strike.

The earliest and the most ambitious attempt to introduce compulsory investigation in any country was that made by Canada in 1907, when the Industrial Disputes Investigation Act became law. Originally an " Act to aid the Prevention and Settlement of Strikes and Lockouts in Mines and In-

dustries connected with Public Utilities," this Act was later extended to cover all industries and services to which the Minister of Labour might decide to apply it. In January, 1925, it was declared unconstitutional. But Enabling Acts were immediately passed in the various provincial legislatures to remedy this defect.

By this Act the Minister of Labour was empowered to set up a Board of Conciliation and Investigation, consisting of three members: one recommended by the employers, one by the employees, and the third (who should act as chairman) to be chosen by the two thus elected. It was further provided that nobody with a pecuniary interest in the dispute could act on this Board—an *ad hoc* Board for each dispute, we may add—and that if either employers or employees failed to nominate a suitable representative, the Minister himself should make the choice. The penalty for contempt of the Board in the course of its proceedings—*e.g.*, refusal to give evidence—was a fine not exceeding one hundred dollars; any violation of the clause suspending the right to strike and lockout subjected the offender to a fine, in the case of a lockout, of not less than one hundred dollars and not more than one thousand dollars for each day that such a lockout exists and, in the case of a strike, of not less than ten dollars nor more than fifty dollars for each day such strike lasted. In practice, however, these penalties have seldom, if ever, been rigorously exacted.

Two provisions of the Act deserve special emphasis. The first is that "employers and employees shall give at least thirty days' notice of an intended change affecting conditions of employment with respect to wages or hours; and that in every case where a dispute has been referred to a Board, until the dispute has been finally dealt with by the Board, neither of the parties shall alter the conditions of employment" or have recourse to a strike or lockout. In so far as the system has been a failure,[1] this clause must be regarded

[1] According to the *Canada Year Book* (1938, page 744) "during the 30 years [up to March 1937] 866 applications were received for the establishment of boards of conciliation and investigation, as a result of which 557 boards were established. In all but 39 cases, strikes or lockouts were averted or ended." Canada is an industrialised country, with a population three and a half times that of this country. Yet in the years 1932–1936 the total working days lost were only 255,000, 317,547, 574,519, 284,028 and 276,999 respectively. Compare the Éire figures for the same years: 200,126 (1933), 180,080 (1934), 288,077 (1935) and 185,623 (1936); while our 1937 figure was 1,754,949!

as the main contributory cause, for it sets no reasonable time-limit whatever to the period in which the investigation has to be completed.

The second important feature of the Act is the extensive powers it vests in the Board. So as to have the investigation as thorough as possible, the Board is given full powers of summoning witnesses, compelling attendance, and exacting evidence under oath. Furthermore, it may demand the production of accounts, balance sheets and all other documents it deems relevant to the dispute; it may make use of whatever information they contain; and, if expedient, it may publish summaries of their contents.

Information about the several forms of compulsory investigation and conciliation obtaining in other countries is contained in a Report of Methods of Collaboration published by the International Labour Office, Geneva, last April. According to this Report, two systems prevail: one providing for negotiations between the parties themselves and no more; the other providing for conciliation by a board not directly involved in the issue. In the former case the law prescribes a conference between delegations of workers and employers with the assistance (Rumania) or under the auspices (Venezuela and Yugoslavia) of a representative of the public authorities—usually a labour inspector. The delegation is formed by the interested parties; but their respective Unions or Federations are authorised to represent them. The negotiations may take place either in a general meeting (Yugoslavia) or in a conciliation committee, and agreements reached become binding forthwith. The second method is in force, for example, in Chili. In this case, when direct negotiations have taken place and broken down, the dispute must be referred to a permanent conciliation council which consists of an equal number of employers' and workers' representatives selected from panels submitted by their respective organisations. The labour inspector presides, but has not the right to vote. The proceedings under both systems are summary, a period of from five to eight days only being allowed before strike action may supervene. Unfortunately no account is given of the

actual working of these various committees and boards, or of their comparative success or failure in solving the strike problem in the Report.

To prescribe compulsory conciliation is not to deprive the worker of his right to strike, but only to prevent him from exercising that right too hastily. Indeed, it is hard to see how lightning strikes—that is strikes called without previous notice to the employer or the public and without time being given for threshing out the matters in dispute at a conference table or conciliation board—are ever morally justifiable. After all, a strike is morally justifiable only (*a*) if called to enforce some just claim ; (*b*) if the claim is one of considerable moment ; (*c*) if no more peaceful method of vindicating the claim is possible in the particular circumstances ; (*d*) and if there is reasonable hope of success. Now it would seem that the lightning strike, of its very nature, fails to fulfil the third of these conditions ; it is an appeal to the arbitrament of force without first exploring the possibilities of a peaceful solution of the dispute. Hence, no matter how real the grievance and how good the prospects of righting it by swift and decisive action of this kind, the lightning strike is almost always objectionable from the moral point of view because it amounts to declaring war first and then negotiating in the heat of battle.

The Irish worker is more impetuous and, once he has thrown down the gauntlet, more uncompromising than workers in most other countries, as witness the fact that we have proportionately more lightning strikes in this country than Britain, Canada, the U.S.A., etc. have and that our strikes last, on the average, much longer than theirs. But none the less the Irish worker is a reasonable and well-meaning person, and I cannot see him resenting compulsory conciliation once he realises that it implies, not the loss of his right to strike, but the curtailment of his power to misuse that right. In fact, it seems to me that he will come to favour the measure in time ; for he will soon find by experience that disputes, which in the heat of the moment would have resulted in an immediate strike, are now often adjusted in the cooler atmosphere of the

conference room. A strike deferred is a dispute half settled—and half settled without loss of prestige, principle, or pay on the workers' part at that. And finally, even should negotiations break down and a strike occur, the worker can now truthfully say that he is not taking the public unawares or resorting to extreme measures without having given the forces of peace a chance to assert themselves.

One fact, however, emerges clearly from a study of the ways and means of strike prevention; everywhere, even in countries with fully-developed compulsory arbitration, voluntary arbitration between the parties themselves is regarded as far and away the best, while compulsion is held to be an evil—though admittedly a lesser evil than unrestrained freedom of action on the part of employers and their employees. The truth is that industrial disputes are in reality family disputes, and like all family troubles are best settled within the family circle itself without the intervention of outsiders. Hence it is desirable that, over and above the statutory arbitration and conciliation machinery just referred to and in the working of which the State plays so large a part, each industry or undertaking should have its own permanent Joint Board to negotiate collective agreements and adjust disputes without any outside intervention.

The present Joint Board for the Boot and Shoe Industry in this country, composed of eight delegates from the Federation of Boot Manufacturers and eight from the Trade Unions, may be adduced as an example of the ideal voluntary Joint Board. Not only is the procedure for conciliation and arbitration in case of disputes prescribed in detail, but the Board also undertakes to ensure uniform wages, hours and conditions throughout the whole industry, thus precluding the possibility of single firms making separate agreements with their staffs and so multiplying the occasions of dispute.

In 1934 the first Joint Board of Conciliation and Arbitration for the Boot and Shoe Industry of Ireland was constituted. Since then no strike or lockout has occurred in any of the concerns covered by the Board. Perhaps if we had similar Boards throughout the length and breadth of industry, we

would have the same story of unbroken peace to report from the whole industrial front. Why not establish them in every industry and service forthwith, therefore, and pave the way both for industrial peace and for Vocational Organisation in the full sense? Indeed, with all industry having its own machinery for conciliation and arbitration along some such lines and with a State Industrial Court to adjudicate—before extreme action can be taken—on whatever disputes the Joint Boards do not succeed in settling, it may well be unnecessary to insist on compulsory arbitration at all. In ninety cases out of a hundred agreement would be reached by the parties themselves, and in nine out of the ten remaining cases the advisory judgment of the Court would be accepted.

But one proviso has to be made. If we are to carry on without compulsory arbitration, then we must have strong Trade Unions, Unions able to compel their members to abide by whatever collective agreements they negotiate, Unions that cannot be forced to legitimise or even condone unofficial strike action on the part of any section of their members; and we must have every worker in some responsible Union. The non-union worker and the worker disloyal to his Trade Union are both a constant menace to peace by negotiation.

We should not advocate "peace at any price" between Capital and Labour. But neither should we promise peace without a price. The price of peace with justice in the industrial world is give-and-take on the part of both sides, together with some institutional brake on too hasty a rush to arms. The various proposals put forward in the preceding paragraphs are meant to suggest what shape that brake might profitably take in this country at the moment. They may not meet with general acceptance. They will have served their purpose, however, if they bring people to think about the ways and means of securing industrial peace and thus lead ultimately to some modification, on the part of the State, of its present *laissez faire* policy in regard to labour troubles.

C. Lucey

PALESTINE UNDER ROMAN CONTROL

63 B.C. to 66 A.D.

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TO appreciate the methods of Roman administration in Palestine in the days of Christ one must look back to the beginnings of Roman control in Palestine in 63 B.C. and forward to the outbreak of the Jewish War in 66 A.D. Three phases of Roman administration appear in this period of a hundred years: (1) The almost complete suppression of the Jewish State; (2) The Restoration of the Jewish Kingdom under Roman supervision; (3) The administration of Palestine as a province. The birth of Christ falls in the second phase. The Public Life of Christ and the preaching of the Gospel in the whole Mediterranean world belong to the third phase.

For the history of the period there is abundance of material —Palestinian and otherwise. For no phase of Roman administration anywhere is there such an objective—one might say, such an unintentional—record as that contained in the books of the New Testament. These books have no immediate concern with Roman policy; but it can be felt at work, as it were, in the background of their narrative; and occasionally—but never for its own sake—it is expounded in a revealing word or phrase. The writings of Josephus and Philo, on the other hand, present a partisan view of Palestinian history in the century in question. But, however partisan that story is, it is vivid, arresting and helpful. The whole century is packed with swiftly-moving events, and its stage is crowded not only with Oriental Princes and Princelets but with the greatest figures of the Roman world.

First Phase

The struggle of two brothers of the Hasmonaean Dynasty for the Kingship and the High Priesthood at Jerusalem led Pompey thither. It was necessary to link Palestine with Syria in order to form a barrier against the Parthians, and

the opportunity of seizing Jerusalem for Rome was not to be lost. Pompey had an easy victory. Hyrkan, one of the contending brothers, was installed as High Priest, but not as King. The Greek and the non-Jewish Semitic territories which Maccabean conquests had added to Judaea were released from Jewish control. Some were incorporated in the Province of Syria; others were set up as self-governing cities or districts under Syrian supervision.

Judaea was now as small as it had been under the Seleucids prior to the Maccabean revolt. A tribute to Rome was imposed; but the Temple treasury was left intact. This was in 63 B.C. The Jews, who had been so proud of their Hasmonaean Priest-Kings, had still a Hasmonaean as High Priest, but he had neither throne nor kingdom. Judaea had for the moment lost almost everything but its memories.

Hyrkan, as High Priest and President of the Sanhedrin, had some kind of control over the civil, as well as the religious, life of the little State; but he was weak-kneed and futile. He had beside him, however, a man of astute and determined will. This was Antipater, an Idumaean or Edomite—a man of a race which the Jews despised but had converted to Judaism by the persuasion of the Maccabean sword. With Antipater were his sons Herod and Phasael—ready and resourceful helpers. Antipater was the real ruler of the new and drastically curtailed Judaea; and he and his sons watched with keen eyes the swaying fortunes of the struggle for power in Rome. Somehow, with a skill that was uncanny, Antipater and his sons managed always to side with the victor of the hour.

With the Battle of Pharsalus (48 B.C.), in which Caesar defeated Pompey, ended the existence of Judaea as a mutilated, half-ecclesiastical, uninfluential State.

SECOND PHASE

When Caesar, after Pharsalus, was campaigning in Egypt, Antipater helped him by sending Jewish troops and by influencing the Egyptian Jews to support him. Caesar never forgot this timely help. Moreover, he now realized—perhaps for the first time—the potentialities of Jewry as a force through-

out the Roman dominions. There were close on a million Jews in Egypt. The Jews were numerous in Rome. There was not a great city or an important centre in the Mediterranean world that had not its Jewish quarter. It was vital, then, for the would-be founder and master of a Roman empire to attract to his support a nation so widely scattered, and yet so strongly organized and united, as the Jews.

Caesar felt that this support could best be won by re-establishing the political status of Palestinian Jewry, by setting up a central Jewish government to which all Jews might look with pride. Hyrkan was, therefore, confirmed by Caesar in the High Priesthood and made Ethnarch of the Jews. And as such he was declared to be, not a subject, but an ally of Rome. At the same time Antipater was appointed Procurator of Judaea and given *jus civitatis*. Caesar saw clearly that the Edomite would act as a useful check on the possible anti-Roman tendencies of Hyrkan or of the people.

The boundaries of Jewish Palestine were enlarged. Taxation was abolished—but tribute of money and corn was imposed (except in the Sabbatical Year). The customs and laws of the Jews were ratified. The Jewish courts were declared competent for all purposes. Roman troops were to be withdrawn from the country, and the Jews were released from military service. Most of these privileges were extended to the Jews of the Dispersion—particularly in Alexandria and Rome. In Rome Caesar gave them what was for Rome the extraordinary privilege of full freedom for their religious practices.

Most interesting of all, perhaps, was Caesar's provision that the Jews of the Diaspora should be regarded as under the protection of the High Priest and Ethnarch at Jerusalem. This was the first official recognition of Judaea as a Mother Country and of Jewry as a distinct power and influence in the Roman world. It was, perhaps, the most important contribution of the wisest statesman of the time to the solution of the Jewish Question.

It might seem that the political restoration of Judaea and its recognition by Caesar as the official centre of universal

Jewry should have supplied a genuine basis for peace, order and prosperity in Jewish Palestine. But the Jews, as a people, could not be brought to accept even the moderate heathen control implied in the reconstruction. Neither could they endure the domination of the Edomites, Antipater and his sons. Their ideal was a theocracy—and that ideal had now to be surrendered. Caesar was no substitute for God. Even the Sadducean aristocracy, liberal-minded as they were and hostile to the Pharisees, joined forces with the Pharisees against Antipater. Rebel groups appeared in many districts—especially in Galilee. Herod was appointed to repress the "rebels," and so thoroughly did he execute his commission that he won the warm commendation of the Governor of Syria. During his Galilean campaign Herod put several rebels to death—among them an important rebel leader. For this the Sanhedrin summoned him to appear before it at Jerusalem. Herod obeyed the summons; but he brought with him an army, and was only prevented from attacking the Holy City by the pleadings of Antipater and Phasael.

Herod was now made Governor of Coele Syria.

The death of Caesar in 44 B.C. brought grief to well-meaning Jews everywhere; but when Cassius began his campaign in Syria, Herod did not hesitate to support him openly and to collect money for his army. This intensified the bitterness of nationalist Jews against the Edomite-Roman government, and Antipater was murdered. Though Herod quickly avenged his father's death, the condition of Judaea steadily disimproved.

After the Battle of Philippi in 42 B.C. the problem of Herod was to convince Antony that the partisan of Cassius could be just as loyal to Antony. In the meantime Antony was entreated by the Hasmonaean Antigonus to re-establish the Maccabean Dynasty, while the Sadduceans begged him to dismiss the Edomites. But Antony recognized the usefulness for Rome of the Edomite Herod and made him Tetrarch of Judaea, leaving Hyrkan as High Priest and Ethnarch. Herod had now the place, and more than the power, of his father.

A most involved and extraordinary phase of Judaean politics followed—in which we find the Parthians appointing Antigonus as High Priest and King, Phasael committing suicide, Hyrkan being sent a captive to Babylon, and Herod in flight from Palestine to Rome. In Rome Herod, with the support of Antony, was appointed by the Senate King of Judaea. Though he was now King, he had neither throne nor army. It took him two years to gather supporters and to organize an army. In 37 B.C., with the help of Roman arms, he seized Jerusalem. For the first time a King of foreign blood sat on the throne of David. All genuine hope of restoring the Hasmonaean Priest-Kings was now at an end.

The plan which Caesar apparently had devised—of a Palestine ruled by a loyal Jew and fit to serve as a barrier against Eastern aggression—seemed, with Herod's accession, to be realized. Herod, a Jew by religion, a Greek by inclination, a Roman by politics, was now a *Rex Socius* and Palestine was an allied kingdom under Roman supervision—a Protectorate of Rome.

The rights and duties of a *Rex Socius* were fairly well defined. As a *Rex Socius* Herod was not free to make treaties of peace with other States, nor entitled to make war on his own account. He had rights of coinage—but they were limited to copper. He was bound to supply auxiliary troops to Rome in war-time and to defend his own frontiers against external foes. He was not bound to pay tribute; but financial help would be expected by Rome in times of crisis. Over his own subjects his authority was absolute. He could institute what customs and excise duties he pleased. He was free to organize and maintain an army for his own purposes.

Though raised to the Kingship by Antony, Herod received from Octavian after the Battle of Actium (31 B.C.) favour and cordial support. Some years later, when Octavian became Emperor, Herod was confirmed in his office as King and additions were made to his Kingdom, which made it as great as that of the Hasmonaean Alexander Jannaeus at the height of his power. It is not possible here to trace the fortunes of Herod as King. In the Gospels he comes before us as

proud, overbearing, dishonest, cruel, and suspicious. The Herod of St. Matthew is the Herod of declining years, but the Gospel picture gives the fundamental features of his character. Here our main interest is to estimate his achievement as an instrument of Roman policy.

Herod never forgot that he ruled as king by the favour of Rome and for the purposes of Rome. This, of course, was equally well known to his Jewish subjects; and though he made strenuous efforts to conciliate men of honour and influence and to strengthen the influence of international Jewry, his Edomite blood and Roman connexions could never be forgotten nor forgiven. Ten times he married—sometimes for policy and sometimes from inclination—and his task as ruler was embittered, first, by the rivalries of his wives and, later, by the clashing ambitions of his sons. These rivalries and contendings helped to foster divisions among the people, and were craftily used against him by the old rebel elements which were still vigorous.

To win the people this Edomite sought to glorify and beautify the Holy City. In 20 B.C. he began the building of a magnificent new Temple—the Temple in which Christ Himself was to teach; and in this new Temple Herod, at first, permitted nothing to appear which could offend the Jews. He never sought to enter into the Holy Place. Even in his coinage he forbade every emblem that might shock his people. Yet, on the other hand, he often treated the Pharisees with sneering contempt and never concealed his liking for Hellenism. Near Jerusalem he built an amphitheatre; in Jerusalem itself he built a theatre; and in the non-Jewish cities of his kingdom he built temples in honour of the Emperor. His Civil Service was full of Greeks, and his army was full of foreign mercenaries. In the border cities of his land he encouraged pagan cults. He built new cities more Greek than Jewish—such as Sebaste, Caesarea, Antipatris, Phasaelis and others—equipping them with temples, theatres, and stadia and encouraging in them every aspect of Greek culture, including the familiar features of the Greek *Paideia*. Herod's real interests were obviously Greek rather than Jewish, and

at all times he sought to surround himself with pagan grandeur.

Herod reduced to practical impotence the old governing body, the Sanhedrin, which had been both Council of State and Supreme Court of Justice; it was permitted to deal only with religious matters. Instead of the Sanhedrin he set up a secular Privy Council on Hellenistic models, consisting of his relatives, principal ministers and other political advisers, which acted as Council of State and Supreme Court of Justice. He made the High Priests his creatures and changed them at his pleasure.

Herod's methods of dealing with nationalist disaffection were thoroughly modern. He did not hesitate to murder his opponents or to intern them in his fortresses. To intimidate the people he employed an army of mercenaries—Thracians, Germans and Celts. His police anticipated the methods of the Ogpu. Loitering and meetings were strictly forbidden. People were even prohibited from walking together in the streets. Offenders were heavily punished. Secret espionage was highly developed; and Herod himself, it is said, sometimes disguised himself to go among and spy upon his people.

Herod had seemed to Caesar and Augustus an ideal intermediary between Judaism and Hellenism. In fact he had no sympathy with more conservative Judaism and shocked his subjects more by his indifference to their religious prejudices than by his tyranny and ruthlessness. It was Rome's interest to have a friendly people in Palestine, holding the route from Syria to Egypt; but Herod, loyal as he was to Rome, had neither the understanding of the Jewish mind nor the conciliatory disposition which might have reconciled the Jews to his rule as agent of Rome. The Pharisees, whom Herod courted and despised, were a greater power than Herod realized, and the Sadducean aristocracy could not be lightly turned from their hopes of a Hasmonaean restoration. All through Herod's territory a spirit of revolt against his rule was quietly gaining strength, as his long reign went on. The foundations were being laid of the Zealot party which, in the next period, was to play so prominent a part in anti-Roman

movements. Jewish resistance to Herod was intensified, especially among the upper classes, by the new burdens of taxation demanded by Herod's grandiose building schemes. It was all very well to build a New Temple; but the people must have bitterly resented Herod's use of public funds to build Greek cities and great fortresses, and to maintain an army of mercenaries, and to live like a gentile despot. But Herod's stern measures of administration maintained public order, and open rebellion was carefully avoided.

A long list of murders—judicial and otherwise—stand to the credit of Herod. It includes two brothers-in-law, several High Priests, a wife and a mother-in-law, many important Pharisees, and innumerable other opponents. The last decade of his reign was the most unhappy and bitter. Two sons of his Hasmonaean wife, whom Herod had at one time destined to succeed him, he came to suspect of undue ambitions and he had them strangled at Sebaste with three hundred of their friends and supporters. Five days before his death he ordered the execution of his eldest son Antipater. Indeed, as Augustus said, it was better to be Herod's swine than his son—his *hys* than his *hyios*.

Herod died in 4 B.C. Shortly before his death he had made a will naming his son Archelaus King of Judaea, his son Antipas Tetrarch of Galilee, and his son Philip Tetrarch of the north-eastern (largely Greek) territory corresponding more or less to the ancient Land of Bashan. He could, however, only *name* his successor; Rome alone could appoint. It was necessary, therefore, for Archelaus to go to Rome to receive the office of king. But with the death of Herod his system of espionage and terrorization broke down, and the enemies of Rome and Edom broke out into serious riots and tumults. These were especially violent in Galilee. Demands were made on Archelaus to avenge the deaths of the nationalists whom Herod had slain. Archelaus was unwilling to exasperate the people ; but he could not agree to their demands. In the end he had to use the Jerusalem army against the rioters who had gathered in the Temple, and more than 3,000 of them were slain by the side of the offerings which

they had brought to the Temple. It was finally necessary for the Governor of Syria to send two military expeditions to quell the troubles.

In the peace of death thus created Archelaus set out for Rome. Antipas his brother appeared there also, hoping to secure the kingship which had been given to him in the penultimate will of Herod. A deputation of Jewish Elders also went to Rome to beg that no son of Herod might be given power, and asking to be governed immediately from Rome. These Elders belonged to the Chasidim—the non-militant Pharisees who, though they resented Roman rule, were prepared to endure it as a punishment for their sins. Another deputation, from the Greek cities of Herod's kingdom, also appeared to plead for their independence.

Augustus knew that there was much in the petition of the Chasidim. He knew that Herod, eminently fitted as he seemed to be for his post, had failed to preserve the Pax Romana. He had flattered and defied in turn every section of the people and died the execrated enemy of all. It was necessary now to continue Caesar's policy or to institute direct government from Rome. Augustus decided to give a further trial to home government; but he accepted Herod's plan of breaking up the Jewish Kingdom into three areas of administration. The reports, however, of riotings at Jerusalem prior to the departure of Archelaus for Rome and of further serious disturbances in the same city since Archelaus had arrived in Rome influenced Augustus to modify important points of Herod's will. Archelaus had been nominated King of all Herod's territory, with Antipas and Philip as subordinate Tetrarchs. Augustus decided to divide Herod's Kingdom between the three brothers—making Archelaus Ethnarch and ruler of Judaea, Samaria and Idumaea; Antipas Tetrarch and ruler of Galilee and Peraea; and Philip Tetrarch and ruler of the north-eastern districts (Paneas, Ulatha, Gaulanitis, Batanaea, Trachonitis and Auranitis). The Greek cities of Gadara, Hippo and Gaza were granted their petition to be governed by Rome and were attached to the Province of Syria. Sebaste and Caesarea, however, were given to Arche-

laus. Augustus had in mind to give Archelaus the rank of King should his rule as Ethnarch entitle him to promotion.

When Archelaus returned to Jerusalem as Ethnarch, he found his territories at peace—terrified into quiescence by the military intervention of Syria. But he seems, from the first, to have failed to win the respect and loyalty of his subjects. He began his rule by imitating the policy of his father—with all his father's indifference towards Jewish institutions and all his father's ruthless tyranny. He seems to have inherited Herod's passion to spend huge sums on grandiose undertakings. He continued the work of rebuilding the Temple; and it is comforting to note that, throughout all the turmoil of Jewish history in the first half of the first century, the construction of the Temple-buildings, like that of a mediaeval cathedral, went quietly on. But this did not placate the Jews, and after nine years of rule he was summoned to Rome in 6 A.D. to answer serious charges made against his rule by Jews and Samaritans. It was clear to the Emperor that Archelaus had failed, and he banished him to Vienne in Gaul.

Augustus now determined to abandon the policy of native government for Judaea. Leaving Antipas and Philip in power as Tetrarchs, he reduced the protectorate of Judaea to the rank of a provincial administrative district to be ruled by Procurators. It was attached in a loose way to the Province of Syria—so that, perhaps, it might serve in the defence of Syria against eastern aggression, just as Cappadocia and Commagene were some years later reduced to provincial rank for a similar purpose. The Tetrarchy of Philip was destined also to be incorporated into Syria after his death.

THIRD PHASE: JUDAEA AS A PROVINCE

The new phase of Jewish political life was introduced by a census—made for the purposes of taxation. The census was carried out by Publius Sulpicius Quirinius, legate of Syria, and it is probably the census referred to in St. Luke 11, 2; for that text has been taken to mean that the census which brought Joseph to Bethlehem was the census prior to that made by Quirinius. There was reason to remember that

census of Quirinius; for it was taken by the Jews as the setting of a seal on their bondage to Rome. Though there is no hint that the census was taken in the territories of Antipas and Philip, it seems nevertheless to have occasioned outbursts of revolt over all Palestine. With those movements of revolt Josephus associated Judas of Galilee, whom he calls the founder of a "philosophy"—or, as we should say, an ideology.[1] The fundamental principle of this philosophy or ideology was the repudiation of any King but God. In one way or another this principle was accepted by most of the nationalist movements in this third period.

The Procurators of Judaea—ἐπιτροποι or ἡγεμονες as they are called—were taken, with one unfortunate exception, from the equestrian order. They were, in general, ignorant of and contemptuous towards the Jewish law and customs. They shared, no doubt, in the widespread anti-Judaism of the time, believing that the Jews were not merely vile and worthless, but hopelessly and perversely immoral—a *taeterrima gens* hostile to the blessings of Greek culture and Roman peace, unintelligible in their fanaticisms and in their foolish readiness to die because of an insult implied in an effigy or ensign or such trivial thing. Jewish particularism was a challenge which was mistaken for hatred of non-Jews, and it was met by contempt and derision. Tacitus has set forth this attitude—which was his own—in unforgettable words in *Hist.* v. 5.

The Procurator system gave the Procurators the right of general supervision over the life of Judaea. The Procurator could depose and appoint the High Priests. He had custodianship of the High Priest's ceremonial robes and handed them out only on definitely specified occasions. The control of the Temple and its funds was also vested in the Procurator. He kept a garrison in the Antonia and policed the Temple during festivals. The Procurator was bound, on the other hand, to show respect for Jewish susceptibilities. His ordinary residence was not in Jerusalem, but in Herod's Greek

[1] "After this man [Theodas]. rose up Judas of Galilee, in the days of the enrolling, and drew away the people after him: he also perished; and all, even as many as consented to him, were dispersed" (Acts V. 37).

city, Caesarea. His visits to Jerusalem were rare and ceremonial. The Jews were exempt from military service and were not asked to pay divine homage to the Emperor.

The religious affairs and most of the civil interests of the people were controlled by the Sanhedrin under the presidency of the High Priest (who, as has been said, could be deposed by the Procurator). The Jewish courts functioned again as in the old days; but the highest judicial authority was in the hands of the Procurator. He alone had the *jus gladii*. Over the Jews he had absolute authority; but Roman citizens could appeal from him to the Emperor. The Procurator was regarded primarily as a military authority, and executions were carried out by elements of his soldiery called *speculatores* (popularly known as *spiculatores*). The Evangelists correctly describe the crucifixion of Our Lord as carried out by soldiers.

The Procurator's title *epitropos* bore normally a specific reference to finance, and the Procurator of Judaea was Minister for Finance. In Judaea the direct taxes were paid directly into the imperial fiscus. For the collection of these taxes the country was divided into a number of districts, and Jews were employed as tax-gatherers. Customs outside Judaea were paid into the treasury of the Tetrarch; in Judaea they went into the imperial fiscus. The indirect taxes were collected by the tax-farmers—*publicani*. As symbolizing Roman authority, these tax-collectors were peculiarly detested and were equated in the popular mind with sinners (*Cf.* Parable of the Pharisee and the Publican, Luke xviii, 10). Even Lucian colligated *μοιχοι, πορνοβοσκοι* and *τελωναι*.

The Procurators had normally at their disposal auxiliary troops—not legionaries. These were raised in Judaea itself—from non-Jewish residents. The Procurator was not guarded, as Herod had been, by Celts and Germans and Thracians or similar barbarians. The chief recruiting centres seem to have been Sebaste and Caesarea. It is likely, however, in order to provide against the possible disloyalty of Palestinian troops, that other army elements were drafted into Judaea at a later date. This is suggested by the presence of an Italian

cohort at Caesarea about 40 A.D. (*Cf.* Acts x, 1). Caesarea, the Procurator's residence, was the chief military station. But there was a garrison at Jerusalem—which, at least during the great feasts (and probably always), occupied the fortress Antonia adjoining the Temple. This garrison consisted, it would seem, of a single cohort.

Though the Procurator could depose and appoint the High Priests, he was bound to select the High Priest from certain definite families. Apart from the Procurator's right of appointing the High Priest and the other rights described above, the Sanhedrin was the real government of Judaea. Its legislative and executive powers were greater than those of most autonomus States in the Empire. Jewish courts, applying Jewish laws, functioned under the Sanhedrin. Even Roman citizens might be tried in these courts, according to Jewish law, in certain specific cases (*viz.* violation of the Temple). The Sanhedrin could pronounce a criminal deserving of death; but the death sentence could be executed only by order of the Procurator.

The Jewish religion was officially protected. Romans had often sacrifices offered for themselves in the Temple. Twice each day sacrifice was offered in the Temple for the Emperor and the Roman people. On certain occasions specially great sacrifices were offered for the Emperor. But the worship of the Emperor was never demanded, except in the mad days of Caligula. It was a fundamental principle of Roman administration that the religion of a people incorporated in the Empire should be carefully respected. The observance of this principle was of particular importance in the case of the Jews.

It now remains to ask whether the above principles of administration were loyally observed by the Procurators. As has been said, the Procurators were not of the highest rank of nobility. They were a type of "new rich" and, in general, failed to realize not only the opportunities but even the duties of their position. They resembled the Republican officials who had sought to exploit rather than to protect and conciliate the provincial subjects of Rome. There were

seven Procurators between 6 A.D. and 41 A.D. Of these the best known is Pontius Pilate, who was appointed in 26 A.D. and remained in office during the last ten years of Tiberius.

During the Procuratorship of Pilate Christ preached the Gospel and was crucified. In the Gospels Pilate appears as harsh, imperious, cynical, selfish, and contemptuous of Judaism. In the Jewish sources he appears in a still more unfavourable light. He is characterized as unyielding in character and ruthlessly severe. The same Jewish sources note his corruption, violence, robbery, and insulting manners. They tell of his intolerable cruelty and of the numerous executions without trial which he ordered. Josephus reports incidents of Pilate's rule which depict him as needlessly and maliciously offending the feelings of the Jews and as incapable of seeing their point of view. Even when the Emperor, at the protest of the Jews, orders him to undo an act of mischievous folly, Pilate fails to take the rebuke to heart. The Gospel story of the trial of Our Lord does not speak one word of censure against Pilate as judge; but, all the same, it reveals the defects of his character and his unfitness for the Procuratorship. It is not surprising that Pilate's rule ended, after ten years, in recall and banishment.

The great length of Pilate's period of office was not due to an imperial appreciation of his worth but to the customary policy of Tiberius, who held that most provincial governors were like blood-sucking insects. It was better for the governed, he used to say, to have a sated officer for years in power rather than to send frequently a new official, hungry and rapacious, to bleed and plunder them afresh.

The reign of Caligula—who, in spite of his nickname, took his divinity seriously—was fortunately brief. He was withheld only by the astuteness of the patient Governor of Syria and by the entreaties of Agrippa from setting up his statue in the Temple of Jerusalem. Had his wish been carried out the catastrophe of the Jewish War would surely have been hastened by a quarter of a century. His assassination early in 41 A.D. was regarded by the Jews as due to as pecial intervention of God.

The reign of Claudius was a time of good will to the Jews outside Rome, and for a brief interlude Claudius reverted to the earlier policy of Jewish self-government for Palestine. This time Agrippa, a grandson of Herod, was set on the Jewish throne. He was an intimate friend of Claudius and seemed to possess in greater measure and in better blend than Herod, the qualities required in a ruler of Palestine, who would not only govern but appease and conciliate. Claudius seems to have thought that a special act of Roman favour was needed to offset in Palestine the effects of Caligula's folly. Antipas had lost his Tetrarchy two years before, and the old Herodian kingdom was put again under the rule of a King, who was a Jew and a friend of Rome. But Agrippa died before the new policy could be tested, and Claudius reestablished the system of direct government by Procurators.

The first Procurators appointed by Claudius were selected with care, and they showed some kindness and intelligence in their rule. But Felix, who is the most prominent of these Procurators, was worse even than Pilate had been. In appointing Felix, Claudius had disregarded the custom of taking Procurators from the equestrian order. Felix was a freedman, the brother of Pallas the influential financial secretary of Claudius. Tacitus, in a deadly phrase, records at once the lowly origin and the personal unfitness of Felix for his office: *Per omnem saevitiam et libidinem jus regium servili ingenio exercuit* ("In every kind of brutality and profligacy he wielded the power of a king with the mentality of a slave")—a condemnation which is perhaps not wholly uninfluenced by Roman aristocratic prejudice against a politically successful freedman.

Three times Felix married and two of his brides were of royal rank. One of these, the Jewish princess Drusilla, appears in Acts xxiv. Felix had won Drusilla from her husband Azizus, King of Emesa, when she was but seventeen. It is said that he used in his seduction the help of a sorcerer. This lewd and superstitious Procurator sent for Paul, his prisoner, to appear before himself and Drusilla. Paul was asked to speak; but when in the course of his address he came

to speak of "righteousness and chastity and the judgment to come," Felix, according to Acts, became afraid and said to Paul: "Go away. When I have spare time, I will send for you." In Acts it is implied also that Felix was not more upright in his official than in his private life. He kept Paul for two long years in prison vainly hoping to be richly bribed to set him free.

The Jewish accounts of Felix depict him as almost incredibly indifferent, not merely to Jewish feeling, but to the most elementary decencies of government. We must, of course, make allowance for Jewish nationalist prejudice in these reports; but it is clear that the procuratorship of Felix brought no credit to the Roman name. His period of office is full of records of revolt and executions. Josephus says that the number of "robbers" (including, no doubt, Zealots) whom he crucified was beyond telling.

The independence movement was intensified by the ineptitudes of Felix. It was now apparently that the *Sicarii* —the "Knife-men"—began to make themselves felt. These were the product of the "philosophy" of Judas the Galilean—a more vigorous development of Zealotism. Moving among the throngs on festival days, the Sicarii used their knives as effective instruments of propaganda on their pro-Roman countrymen. That Roman administration should thus have provoked the desperate policy of physical violence is a commentary on its lack of intelligence and principle. It might, of course, be questioned whether any heathen power, however prudent and patient, could have quietly governed and conciliated a people like the Jews, whose history and outlook were so unique.

That a people so small and so divided could have hoped to assert their claims against Rome by armed revolt is not so strange in the light of the Maccabean victory over the Seleucids, and in view of Jewish Messianic hopes. It is noteworthy that the struggle against Rome gave an extraordinary stimulus to Messianic speculation. Books like the Assumption of Moses, the Slavonic Henoch, and the third and fourth Books of the Maccabees are probably products of the Procuratorship period.

The imprisonment of Paul at Caesarea coincided with the last two years of Felix. During those two years the independence movement was constantly growing. The religious and political extremists made common cause and carried on a tremendous campaign of terrorist propaganda. They plundered and slaughtered throughout the land. Things were moving rapidly towards the inevitable war.

Festus, the successor of Felix, sent Paul to Rome, as he had appealed to Caesar. During the Procuratorship of Festus, which lasted two years, disorder increased, Messianic agitators were active, and Roman government became more and more difficult and ineffective.

The two last Procurators before the War, Albinus and Gessius Florus, seemed to have aimed rather at provoking disaster than establishing order. Albinus had no interest but that of amassing wealth—by every means—while Gessius Florus was so lacking in all the qualities of a good administrator that, according to Josephus, Albinus, in comparison with him, might be called "most righteous."

The stage was now full set for the Jewish War of 66 A.D.

The century or more of Jewish affairs which we have reviewed was a time of wretchedness in Jewish Palestine. Scarcely one year of it was lived in peace. Jewish writers have calculated that more than 200,000 of the best men of Israel were slain in the course of that century. The people were ruined by the taxes of Herod and the exactions of the Procurators. To material misery was added the bitterness of spirit aroused by a foreign rule, whose representatives were either ignorant of, or contemptuous towards, Jewish institutions. Out of that bitterness grew a mentality of anarchy and revolt which left the people at the mercy of the fantastic propaganda of would-be Messiahs.

The failure of Rome to govern Jewish Palestine stands as a warning to those imperialists who would seek to govern subject peoples by disregarding or destroying their religion or their national traditions.

P. Boylan

THE NATURAL HISTORY OF LITERATURE

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THE activity of plants and animals is fixed by an unalterable inner law which directs them to a predetermined end. That law we call their nature. The activity of man, on the other hand, is partly free. For, though man by that part of his nature which he shares with plants and animals has an activity which is in part determined, by his intellect (which tends towards the infinite) he conceives ever-varying ends and purposes and decides on every-varying means of attaining them. The unchangingness of end and means in non-intellectual nature enables students of natural history, by observation, classification and comparison, to obtain results which hold good for all time. At first sight it might seem that the comparative method of natural history could never be satisfactorily applied to those truly human activities in which the intellectual side of man takes part. Nevertheless the comparative method has indeed been recently applied with success to the study of essentially human developments such as the growth of civilization ; and now in their *Growth of Literature*, of which the concluding volume appeared early in the present year, Professor H. Munro Chadwick and Mrs. N. Kershaw Chadwick have applied that method to the study of the oral or preliterary stage of linguistic artistry.[1]

The Chadwicks have covered a wide field, examining the early stages of some eighteen literatures more or less completely. In their first volume they treat concurrently of the five ancient literatures of Europe : Greek, Irish, Welsh, Norse, and Anglo-Saxon. Attic and post-Attic Greek literature, and also Latin literature, have been excluded from the survey on the grounds that they belong to a more advanced stage of growth. The concurrent treatment of the five literatures brings out their resemblances, so

[1] *The Growth of Literature.* By H. Munro Chadwick and N. Kershaw Chadwick. Cambridge University Press. Vol. I (1932), 692 pp., 30s. ; Vol. II (1936), 800 pp., 30s. ; Vol. III (1940), 954 pp., 35s.

that points which might have appeared to be peculiarly Irish or peculiarly Greek, as the case might be, are found to be common at certain stages of society. A few such points are the boastfulness of heroes, humorous representation of gods, fondness for *dinnshenchus* and pseudo-historical accounts of national and tribal origins, fondness for catalogues of heroes, peoples, or places, belief in the love or friendship of immortal beings for favoured heroes, whether those beings be Greek gods, Irish *aes síde*, Scandinavian valkyries, or Serbian *vile*, who down to quite recent times (p. 210) were firmly believed to have actively aided Serbian chieftains in their wars against the Turks.

The Irish sections of Volume I are pleasingly complete and accurate. Where certain general questions and the Ulster heroic cycle are concerned they are based largely on Parts I and II of *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* by the late Rudolf Thurneysen. In treating of Finn-tales, Mythological Tales, King-tales, Historical Tales, and Borrowed Tales, planned to have been the subject-matter of the unwritten Parts III, IV, and V of *Die irische Helden- und Königsage*, the Chadwicks have had to work without Thurneysen's guidance. But even in treating of the Ulster cycle, whenever the wider scope of their comparative survey brings to light evidence which contradicts Thurneysen's principles, the Chadwicks are not afraid to form their own conclusions.[1]

From the outset the authors of *The Growth of Literature* make it clear that Professor H. M. Chadwick's work on *The Heroic Age*, published some twenty-eight years ago, is to play an important part in the working out of their plan. Indeed *The Growth of Literature* may be looked on as a vast elaboration of that preliminary study. In his *Heroic Age* Professor Chadwick pointed out that a type of literature commonly described as "heroic" is to be found in many languages. While in style it may vary from the poetic perfection of the *Iliad* to the bare prose of *Táin Bó Cúailnge*, in matter and in the structure of its narrative it is almost everywhere the same. Heroic literature is aristocratic in outlook. As virtues it

[1] *e.g.*, that the Deirdre story has had a continuous history in oral tradition (p. 551).

recognises loyalty, prowess, and fulfilment of one's word. Boasting, provided that the boast is equalled by the deed, is not considered a fault. It idealises its heroes, yet remains fundamentally realistic: those heroes are made of flesh and blood; their success or failure depends more on character and action than on accident or magic, though fate and the gods may be regarded as inscrutable yet necessary factors in life. War is the profession of the princes of whom it treats, a type of war that is direct and straightforward, almost devoid of strategy, and commonly decided by the personal prowess of leaders. Description of the ceremony of court life, of the interior of palaces, of the ornament of clothes and weapons is universal in heroic literature.

Already in his first book Professor Chadwick had, with probability, identified some of the central figures of Teutonic heroic literature with barbarian leaders mentioned by historians of the later Roman Empire. He had shown that the heroic poetry of the Slavs is about people of whose historic existence there can be no doubt. He had shown that at least the material civilisation of the *Iliad* corresponds to a historical reality revealed within the last fifty years by archaeologists. He therefore concluded that heroic literature is to some extent based on history. The historical age to which heroic literature is to be traced he called a Heroic Age. He showed that where there is heroic literature, it may reasonably be inferred that a Heroic Age preceded it and that the general traits of that Age, perhaps even some of its persons, are presented to us in that literature. The findings of that early study of the Heroic Age are on the whole confirmed by the findings of the more recent study of the Growth of Literature.

From both books, that is to say from both *The Heroic Age* and *The Growth of Literature*, it would appear that heroic literature is normally produced by court entertainers, whether these be minstrel-poets as in the ancient Greek world, or saga-men of the type of Feidlimid mac Daill, father of Deirdre, whom the Old Irish *Exile of the Sons of Uisliu* describes as Conchobar's *scélaige* or "storyteller."

In barbaric society, the type of society in which heroic

conditions exist, there are normally to be found, distinguished from the warrior chieftains and their retinues, an important non-warrior class of whom Hebrew prophets, Hindu brahmans, and Celtic druids and *vates* may be cited as representative types. Their function is not entertainment but instruction. Poems and sagas emanating from these didactic and inspired circles are generally distinguishable from the more straightforward productions of the heroic court entertainers, though in Ireland, where distinctions that are clear in other countries often tend to disappear, it is not always easy to decide in what circle this or that tale took its origin.

In a third category, distinguished both from court entertainers and mantic teachers, the Chadwicks place post-heroic poets and saga-makers. This category, to judge from the authors' neglect of it in their second and third volumes, is found as a clearly-marked type of native growth only in Greece and Iceland. The un-heroic Archilochos who did not worry over defeat and the subsequent loss of his shield ("I shall get another one which is just as good") and the realistic independent farmer-poets who composed the Icelandic prose sagas belong to this category, which clearly represents a stage of civilisation very little removed from the mature stage attained, let us say, in fifth-century Athens and fourteenth-century Italy.

Having learnt in Volume I, from the survey of the five ancient literatures of Europe, to distinguish the Heroic, Non-heroic, and Post-heroic phases of the growth of literature (represented in Greece by Homer, Hesiod, and Archilochos respectively) the reader may broaden his knowledge of them by turning to the less-known literatures which the Chadwicks describe in Volumes II and III of their vast undertaking.

Volume II opens with a study of Russian oral tradition. About the eleventh and twelfth centuries of our era there seems to have been a heroic age in the Kiev district of the Ukraine. A contemporary semi-epical poem from that age and district known as *Prince Igor's Expedition* is discussed briefly by Professor William J. Entwistle in the Russian section of his excellent survey of *European Balladry* recently

published by the Clarendon Press.[1] The Tatar conquest has largely erased memory of the Kiev heroic age from the Kiev district itself, but in Great Russian peasant *byliny* or " ballads " the tradition of it still lingers on. Except for some of the heroes' names these Great Russian *byliny* contain little that is historical. The narrow limits of Kievite influence, as outlined in the Igor poem, are vastly extended in the *byliny*. By a change which is not unlike the tendency noticeable in the Irish Finn-cycle to replace Finn's original enemies by Scandinavian vikings, the original Polish enemies of the Igor poem become Tatars of the Golden Horde and pagan Lithuanians in the *byliny*; for these were at different times the chief enemies of the Muscovite rulers under whom the makers of the *byliny* lived.

Beside these semi-heroic *byliny*, which give an exalted tone, as it were, to the oral literature of such of the Russian peasantry as still preserve them, lives a more every-day form of prose and poetry offering many analogies to the peasant prose and poetry which in Ireland too once flourished beside ballads and stories of a semi-heroic type. The prose part of that peasant literature consists largely, as in Ireland, of folktales and partly of anecdotes about characters who have imprinted themselves for some reason or other on the popular imagination. Religious poetry, mainly composed by a semi-professional class called *kalêki*, is popular, and though it is of a kind different from the religious poetry of Ireland, there are nevertheless many analogies between the two. Indeed had Tadhg Gaedhlach lived in Russia instead of Ireland in the eighteenth century, he would certainly have been recognised as a typical *kalêka*. But what is most striking in the two civilisations is the gift for poetic expression common among the peasants themselves and intimately woven into the manners and ceremony of ordinary life.

Unfortunately the everyday songs of Russian farmers and working-men seem to have been as little cared for in the past as the similar songs of the Irish peasantry. Collectors were

[1] Professor Entwistle's volume had not yet appeared when Volume II of *The Growth of Literature* was published, and *Prince Igor's Expedition* is not mentioned by the Chadwicks.

interested in the *byliny*, not in the everyday poems and poetic utterances of the men and women who recited them. Women's laments of special merit in Russia, however, as in Ireland, have been occasionally remembered orally, and many of them have been written down in recent times. Some of these, as in Ireland, have been composed by the bereaved women themselves; for "in the backward and more conservative districts every woman can give expression to her grief in poetical form either by composing a new *zaplachka* ('lament') or by adapting one already in existence to the new circumstances" (II, p. 229). Others are by professional women mourners, the Russian equivalent of the once common *mná caointe* of Ireland. These Russian *mná caointe* have often a second function, that of mistress of ceremonies at weddings (II, p. 232); for at weddings and matchmakings poetry forms part of the traditional ceremony. Among the matchmaking songs, strange to say (for they are a genre which does not exist in Ireland), is to be found something akin to the descriptions of the surrounding company which used to characterise the work of Irish *mná caointe*: [1]

> It is not two crows who have flown together in the dark forest,
> Or two warriors who have met in the open plain,
> It is two matchmakers who have met together in my home,
> In the glorious honourable ikon corner.
> The tall matchmaker is my sire,
> The second is a matchmaker from elsewhere;
> They have taken deep counsel together,
> They have lighted candles of pure wax,
> Before the wonder-working ikon.
> They have touched their bright eyes with the cross,
> They have struck hands on the bargain. (II, p. 233).

So often do manners and incidents referred to by the Chadwicks in their Russian pages resemble similar incidents or similar manners which must have come to the notice of many students of Irish literature that it is difficult to confine quotation. Let us end, however, as we have begun with the *byliny*. Knowledge of these wins a Russian peasant that fame in his district which knowledge of *fianaigheacht* used to win

[1] *Cf. e.g.*, Éigse, I, 222.

for Irish peasants in the last century. Eugene O'Curry (*Manners and Customs*, III, ii, p. 392) has insisted on the "simple, solemn" nature of the airs which suit *fianaigheacht* (or 'Ossianic') poetry. He has pointed out that the airs to which his father sang such poems resembled the air to which he sang a "beautiful ancient hymn" in the syllabic metre that had then for long been obsolete. Mazon, a recent French collector of *byliny* cited by the Chadwicks on page 244 of their study, insists likewise on the simple, solemn and ancient character of the airs to which *byliny* are sung, and of their resemblance to religious music: *Le chanteur . . . chante d'une voix lente, souvent un peu traînante, à la manière rituelle d'un chantre d'église; la mélodie, d'une grande simplicité et infiniment monotone, donne une impression d'antiquité saisissante: on s'imagine reporté à quelques siècles en arrière.* Another observer (II, p. 241) has spoken of the rapt attention of a Russian peasant audience listening to the singing of *byliny* on an island in Lake Onega: "Everybody sat without winking an eye while the singing was going on. Every sound of this monotonous but wonderfully gentle tune they loved." Irish readers will again be forcibly reminded of O'Curry's description (*l.c.*) of how the labourers on both sides of the river would come down to the water's edge to hear Anthony O'Brien, "the best singer of Oisin's poems that his contemporaries had ever heard," sing traditional songs and ballads from a boat in the middle of the Shannon where it flows between Kerry and Clare.

The Yugoslav section of Volume II is of particular interest for students of the heroic age, and its analogies are often with the older heroic part of Irish literature rather than with the peasant part, of which only the modern phase is known to us. The Chadwicks themselves more than once draw the reader's attention to points such as the similarity between Yugoslav marriage ballads and Irish *tochmarca* (p. 309), or the references (p. 371) to the practice of head-hunting which occur in both literatures. Sometimes, indeed, as in Ireland, folk themes are incorporated in these heroic or semi-heroic compositions, and the Irish folklorist will then not infrequently come upon motifs with which he is familiar: the story,

for instance, of how the great Marko Kraljević stole the wings and head-dress of a mountain *vila* and so compelled her to stay with him as his wife till, having been insulted by him, she succeeded in recovering the wings and head-dress. This is essentially the same as the Kerry tale of The Lady of Gollerus (in which the bride is a mermaid) or the Hebridean account of the origin of the MacCodrum family (in which she is a seal).[1] But to mention in detail the various points of Irish interest treated of in the Yugoslav section of this volume, and in the Early Indian and Early Hebrew sections which follow it, would be impossible within the compass of this article.

The Early Indian section will be found to be particularly informative. Its account of the Indian heroic age and the subsequent taking over of the heroic poems by the learned Brahman caste throws much light on what would seem to have been a similar adoption by the Irish *fili*-schools of our own heroic literature, which once doubtless was typical of kings' *scélaigi*, such as Feidlimid mac Daill, rather than of learned *filid*. Celtic students will also read with interest the Chadwicks' summary of the Sanskrit account of the search through a series of old animals for one old enough to have known Indradyumna (II, p. 572 ; III, p. 747). It is, as they point out, closely parallel to the similar search described in the Welsh *Culhwch and Olwen* for an animal who knew Mabon. The Welsh account of that search once charmed Matthew Arnold (*Celtic Literature*, Everyman series, p. 49), and the international folk-group to which both Sanskrit and Welsh accounts belong has recently been studied with reference to Irish variants by the late Eleanor Hull in " The Hawk of Achill, or the Legend of the Oldest Animals " (*Folklore*, 1932, p. 376 ff.).

Coming to Volume III of *The Growth of Literature* we find that its first part is devoted to the Oral Literature of the Tatars ; part II to the Oral Literature of Polynesia and a Note on the Oral Literature of the Sea Dyaks of North Borneo ; part III to Notes on the Oral Literature of some African Peoples ; and part IV to a General Survey in which the evidence collected in all three volumes is reviewed.

[1] See *Béaloideas*, IX, 1939, p. 136.

To have found agreement between Irish and Russian oral tradition is hardly surprising, for the two languages are well-known to be akin; but few readers will be prepared for the extraordinary similarities that connect the recently-recorded Asiatic tales and poems discussed by the Chadwicks in their Tatar section with the ancient and medieval literatures of Europe. Among the Tatars we find catalogues of heroes (pp. 32, 185) which resemble the Irish catalogue of the *Táin* (ed. Windisch, 5159 ff.) and the Greek catalogue of Book XXIII of the *Iliad;* we find speech poems introduced into prose sagas after the Irish manner (p. 48); we find heroic boasting (p. 71) such as the Gauls were famous for, Irish examples of which may be found in sagas of the type of Mac Dá Thó's Pig; we find games followed by panegyrics (p. 66) which must remind readers of the Greek custom that gave rise to the magnificent poetry of Pindar; we find riddle-contests between mantically-gifted heroes and sages (pp. 107, 152) suggestive of contests between Ashtavakra and Vandi in the Sanskrit *Mahabharata* (II, p. 505), between Ferchertne and Néde in the Irish *Colloquy of the Two Sages*, or (on a humbler plane) between modern Connemara *seanchaithe* such as Páidín Shadhbh Rua and Máirtín Breathnach, or Ó Lopáin and Ó Concheannainn, whose battles of wit and lore have recently been described by Peadar Chois Fhairrge in his reminiscences as recorded by Seán Mac Giollarnáth (pp. 27, 53).

In their religious tales Tatar *shamans*, to impress and edify, use themes that in Modern Irish Finn-tales and folk-tales are used to awaken wonder and distract. The *shamans*' account of torment in the underworld, to which some mortals are carried off and to which some go willingly in search of lost friends, resembles Irish Finn-tales concerning enticement to a land beneath the sea, or to a horrid cave or magic *bruidhean*, where some of the Fiana suffer torment till others rescue them. One such *shamans*' tale (III, pp. 110, 165) contains a long episode concerning the failure of three Tatars who have let their brother down by a rope to the underworld to raise him again, by reason of the weight of rescued people he is

bringing back with him. That episode, in a strikingly similar form, has held generations of Irish listeners in suspense as they heard it in one or other of the various folk and literary versions of *Úcaire na Seachtmhaine* mentioned by Mr. Delargy in *Béaloideas*, V (1935), p. 209. Nor is the using of riddles to test brides and suitors, as in Finn's wooing of Ailbe or Cú Chulainn's wooing of Emer, a mere invention of Irish story-telling. The Tatars have this theme in many stories (III, pp. 153, 158), and in Russia in the last century testing the suitor by riddles was in some districts a living custom (II, pp. 211–214).

Polynesian oral tradition has similarities to the oral tradition of Ireland that are no less striking than those we have been considering in Tatar poetry. Among the Polynesians, even to a greater extent than was the way in Ireland, " occasional poetry is very common, no event being too trivial for poetical treatment, which seems to depend rather on the mood of the reciter than on the nature of the subject " (III, p. 269 ; *cf.* p. 412). Women's keens were once as usual in Polynesia [1] as in Ireland or Russia, and many of the points which typify Irish poetry and saga, such as the love of catalogues of famous heroes or places (III, p. 393) and the interspersing of speech-poems in prose tales (p. 333), are to be found also in Polynesian tradition. And could not the friendly poetic contest between two Maori poets described on page 415 be paralleled by many an Irish poetic " contention " ?

Investigators are sometimes tempted to imagine that, were they able to find themselves in pagan Ireland before the coming of Christianity, a mythology devoid of puzzles would await them : the relations between Finn and Lug, Balor and Goll, would (they fancy) be clear ; chthonic gods would be distinguished from the bright upperworld gods ; the gloomy dead and the magic *sluagh sidhe* would not troop together ; human heroes and immortals would never be confused. Doubtless things were never in pagan times so orderly. The Polynesian Maui who visits the underworld and helps men by stealing fire, fishing up islands, and snaring the sun, is to be classed

[1] *Cf.* pp. 350, 364, 413, 417.

as a culture-hero (III, pp. 283 ff., 300 ff.) beside the Russian strong ploughman Mikula, the Greek Herakles, and perhaps the Irish Finn. Plato contemptuously describes stories about Herakles as "old wives' tales" (*Lysis*, 205 D), and Maui too is a favourite with "ovenside (*i.e.*, fireside)" story-tellers, little attention being paid to him by the intellectual and priestly *tohungas* (p. 307). To know more about Maui might, then, help investigators to a better understanding of culture-heroes in general. But the pagan Polynesians are as doubtful about Maui's nature and origin as modern scholars are about the origin of Mikula or Herakles or Finn. The Maoris regard him as a god (p. 307). Others refuse him that dignity. Similarly the gods Iro and Uenuku are also at times confused with two heroes of the same name and at times kept distinct (p. 312; *cf.* p. 327). Moreover though often there is clear distinction between the heavenly homes of the blissful gods and the gloomy chthonic home of the cannibal Miru, receiver of the dead and mother of earth's spirit inhabitants, "not infrequently the same story is told of the Heavens and the Underworld . . . and the same gods and supernatural beings are pictured as occupying both regions" (p. 314).

Persephone, because she had eaten a pomegranate seed in the realm of Hades, belonged for ever to that realm, though for six months of each year she was permitted to revisit her mother Demeter in this world. Many an Irish peasant, wiser than Persephone, is believed after capture by the fairies to have escaped from their power by refusing to eat their food. On page 291 of their study of the oral literature of Polynesia the Chadwicks tell how in the last century a lady of rank from near Lake Rotorua was believed to have returned to life after two days of death that her child might not be left motherless. The lady had found her father in the underground realm of the dead:

> By his orders she refused to touch the food that the dead people offered her; and in spite of their efforts to detain her, her father got her safely into the canoe, crossed with her, and parting gave her from under his cloak two enormous sweet potatoes to plant at home for his grandchild's special eating. But as she began to climb the precipice again, two pursuing infant spirits pulled her back, and she only escaped

by flinging the roots at them, which they stopped to eat, while she scaled the rock by help of the *akeake*-stem, till she reached the earth and flew back to where she had left her body.

To pass on from the food-motif, Gaeltacht audiences would find nothing unusual in the lady's throwing the sweet potatoes back to delay the pursuing spirits ; for many a magic pursuer has been so delayed in Irish folktales.[1] The clashing rocks which in another Polynesian tale (p. 291) are pictured as guarding the realm of the dead would also be familiar to Gaeltacht audiences ; and Mata-ora, ancestor of the Taranaki tribe, whose fairy wife flies to her underworld father when Mata-ora strikes her, would in Ireland be recognised as a Maori Oisín ; for Oisín, according to a Galway tale recorded by An Bráthair Ó Clúmháin and published in *Béaloideas* (IV. 191 ff.), having married a daughter of the king of the Land of Youth, offended her by striking her three times with a dog-leash, so that she fled from him to her father. Both Oisín and Mata-ora recovered their wives by visiting the other world. Mata-ora's wife returned with him to this world. Oisín's wife, on the other hand, induced her husband to remain for three-hundred years in Tír na hÓige before he lost her by returning to earth on the white horse the breaking of whose girth led to his meeting with Patrick and the preservation of the tales of the Fiana.

The North Borneo and African sections of Volume III do not as a rule offer such striking similarities to well-known European literatures as the sections we have so far been considering. Nevertheless they too are of importance for the investigator of the growth of literature—in a sense perhaps of even greater importance than some of the other sections by reason of their comparatively greater independence. Their testimony has therefore been used very often by the Chadwicks in the General Survey which follows the vast series of particular surveys at which we have glanced hastily in this article. African evidence, for instance, as it has undoubtedly strengthened the opinion favoured by Professor Chadwick in his *Heroic Age* that heroic ages are not a purely literary pheno-

[1] *e.g. Béaloideas*, III, 306, VI, 10, 19, IX 63, 70.

menon but have their foundation in the life of the time to which the literature relates (*Growth*, III, p. 703), so it has been of importance in leading to revision of the opinion then favoured by him that heroic prose saga is normally preceded by heroic poetry (III, p. 716). African evidence has also been of help in distinguishing a primitive and an advanced form of heroic age :

> In the more primitive type the heroic and non-heroic elements have something in common. Heroes may be drawn from any class, and communal interest (in family, locality or tribe) is frequently expressed. But the poems and stories are concerned almost exclusively with exploits, not with the heroes themselves. Women play little part.
>
> The more advanced type is more or less free—often almost wholly—from non-heroic influence. Heroes are drawn from the princely class ; communal interest is wanting. Poems and stories are concerned practically with persons of the princely class alone. The interest tends to shift from the exploits to the characters. Women are often as prominent as men. (III, p. 748).

Having discussed the importance of the more advanced type of heroic age in the development of literature " because heroic princes were generous patrons of minstrels, partly in order to get their own fame celebrated," the Chadwicks continue :

> The Heroic Age in its advanced form seems usually to have been a transitory period, lasting not more than a few generations. Sometimes it ended in catastrophe ; more frequently the non-heroic element appears to have recovered its authority. In the following period heroic literature was often preserved for the purpose of entertainment ; it was also adapted to didactic purposes. But the new literature which was composed was predominantly non-heroic, and the prevailing interest was either communal or impersonal. In maritime countries which were most in touch with the outer world the non-heroic element tended in course of time to lose its mantic character ; the seer was succeeded by the secular law-giver and philosopher. These changes were accompanied by new movements in literature of individual, though not heroic, interest. (III, 749).

The authors in their General Survey have not tried to draw all the conclusions that may be drawn from points treated by them in their particular surveys : the admitted importance

of the Tuareg *ahal*, a courtly poetic gathering presided over by women, on the development of the Tuareg poetry of courtly love (III, p. 666 f.), the distinction in Yugoslavia between "men's poems," which include all the heroic poems of Yugoslav tradition (II, p. 306; III, p. 897 f.), and "women's poems," and the tendency of Russian women reciters to specialise in romantic *byliny* (II, p. 46), would probably, for instance, have been more stressed by a European medievalist discussing the change observable, about the middle of the twelfth century, from the epic *chanson de geste* to courtly romances and the love-poetry of Provence. In the literary section of *L'art du moyen âge et la civilisation française* Monsieur Gustave Cohen devotes several excellent pages to the circumstances of this change. The evidence gathered by the Chadwicks in *The Growth of Literature* corroborates his opinions: *La paix* (M. Cohen writes) *entraîne une certaine douceur des moeurs et la possibilité de réunions, d'assemblées, qui ne se tiennent plus seulement dans la rumeur et l'agitation de la place publique, mais dans le calme ouaté de la chambre des Dames . . . Tout devient nuance et douceur ; la femme est reine, l'amour est roi* (Cohen, *l.c.*, p. 352; *cf.* p. 348). Monsieur Cohen's convincing refutation in the same book of Bédier's theory of the monastic origin of the French *chanson de geste* is likewise corroborated by the Chadwicks' researches: indeed one might say that for a student of the Chadwicks' work a particular refutation of that theory is unnecessary, for having learnt in what circumstances a heroic tradition develops he could no more think of a heroic cycle taking its origin in monastic circles than he could think of a palm-tree growing on an Alp. M. Cohen's views (*l.c.*, p. 301) on the essential anonymity of the *chanson de geste* are also borne out by the Chadwicks' researches (III, pp. 751, 877).

Undoubtedly the pre-literary stages of prose and poetry are more suited than the later stages for study by the natural history method of observation, classification and comparison. At all stages, indeed, man's activity is limited and moulded, as it were, by the circumstances of his materially-bound nature and of the material things which he must use to

express it; and therefore at all stages his activity is in part predictable and subject to classification. The use of writing, however, by aiding the memory and increasing the scope of knowledge permits increased subordination of matter to intellect. Intellect, therefore, with its largely unpredictable choices and vast powers of moulding means to an end tends to play a greater part as a free incalculable element in the literate stages of civilisation than in the pre-literate. Future investigators, encouraged by the Chadwicks' success, may attempt to apply their method to the mature stages of literary development. It could hardly be hoped that there the method would prove to be satisfactory. To say that the *Táin* is a heroic tale is to say something important about the *Táin*. To assign *Paradise Lost* and the *Divina Commedia* to a class is to say little that is important about them. For Dante and Milton so inform the calculable type on which they work with the incalculable freedom of the spirit that the resultant poetry, by what is most essential in it, transcends classification. Even the products of the early stages of linguistic artistry have in them much of this incalculable spiritual element, which differentiates them from one another, giving each one of them its final value and perfection. The late W. P. Ker in his *Epic and Romance* has shown how that perfection may be appreciated and described. Ker's book will doubtless for long remain a model of its kind. Nevertheless, just as no Thomist psychologist can afford to neglect the discoveries of modern investigators concerning the material boundaries of the spirit, so no future Ker or Cohen should neglect the discoveries which the Chadwicks have made by applying the natural history method to study of the growth of literature.

GERARD MURPHY

FATHER THOMAS WHITE, OF CLONMEL

Born, 1556 : A Jesuit, from 1592 : Died 1622

Founder of the Irish Colleges at

Salamanca, 1592 ; Santiago, 1612 ; Seville, 1619

EARLY IRISH JESUIT EDUCATORS (I)

BY T. CORCORAN, S.J.
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Thomas White of Clonmel (1556—1622)

THE outstanding figure in the constructive work for Irish Education, done by Irish Jesuits within the century 1540—1640 either within Ireland or abroad, was that of Father Thomas White of Clonmel. The two historians of his birthplace and of his diocese, Canon William Burke (*History of Clonmel*, 1907, pages 457—469) and Canon Patrick Power (*Waterford and Lismore*, 1937, page 24), following up the researches of Dr. Edmond Hogan, S.J., agree in giving the year of Thomas White's birth as 1556, the year of the death of St. Ignatius of Loyola. They also concur in stating that Thomas White and the more celebrated Father Stephen White, S.J. (born 1574) were brothers, sons of Pierce White and brothers of James White, Vicar-Apostolic of Waterford; another brother, chief magistrate of Clonmel, was deposed from that civil office in 1606 as being a recusant Catholic. Near relatives, Patrick and Nicholas White, were heavily fined in Castle Chamber, at Dublin Castle, for refusal to attend Anglican services. In the entry lists (1601—1619) of the Irish College, Salamanca, more than one White is set down as a Waterford diocese student, coming from the school of Master John Flahy, who sent some fourteen students to the University of Salamanca in those years. In 1608 John Coppinger (*Mnemosynion to the Catholics of Ireland*) tells of how Father Thomas White, a Jesuit since 1593, devoted himself to the most practical academic service of organising Irish student life at Valladolid, Salamanca, Lisbon, Seville, and St. James of Compostella.

Was it not great charitie of Father Thomas White, naturall of Clonmel, seeing so many poor scholars of his nation in great miserie at Valladolid, having no means to continue their studie nor language

to begge, having given over his private commoditie, did re-collect and reduce them to one place, which he maintained by his industrie and begging ?

Thomas White, as Canon Burke notes, was at Valladolid by 1582. Having in the summer of 1592 presented his assembled students to King Philip II at his Royal Villa of St. Laurence beside the city, he got from the King a large initial sum for housing, an annual grant for maintenance, and this Royal letter :—

To the Rector, the Masters, and the Members of the University of Salamanca.

The young Irishmen who have been forming a kind of community in the city of Valladolid have decided to go to your city, in order to avail of the advantages there placed at their service for progress in Letters and Languages. A house has been prepared for them, in which they purpose to live under the direction of the Jesuit Fathers.

Besides providing for them a substantial annual grant, I desire them to deliver to you this Letter, to charge you, as I now hereby do, to regard them as highly recommended to you. Favour and assist them to the utmost of your power. They have left their own country and all dear to them there for the service of God our Lord and for the preservation of the Catholic Faith ; they declare their determination to return there to preach it and, if need be, to suffer martyrdom for it. They are to have in your University the good reception that they promise themselves. I am certain that you will see to this being done. With your aid and with what I feel sure of from the City of Salamanca (to which also I now write), these young Irishmen will be enabled to pursue their studies in content and freedom, and so will give full effect to their purpose.

Given at Valladolid, this second day of August 1592

Yo el Rey

Hieronimo de Cassell

A Secretis

Over the following thirty years (1592—1622) Thomas White laboured indefatigably at this great Catholic and national service. He was thus the initiator of the Irish Colleges in Spain, rapidly succeeded by those of France, Italy, Flanders, Bohemia. Always associated with the great Catholic Universities, they secured for our students that fine university training, general and professional, which easily enabled them

to outrank over all Europe, as at Paris, Louvain, Salamanca, Prague, the work essayed at the decadent Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and other heretical centres. The prestige thus everywhere achieved for Catholic Irish students, both in academic training and office, as well as through published works, on the lines initiated and on the foundations well laid by Thomas White of Clonmel and his Irish collaborators in Spain, was expanded and enhanced down to the destructive years of the French Revolution. Fr. White's death at Santiago, on 28 May 1622, was thus most fittingly recorded by a Spanish pen :—

This day, Sunday, at seven in the morning, Our Lord called to the reward of his labours and merits Father Thomas White. He died of fever, at the age of sixty-four and in the thirty-fourth year of his religious life. During that period he had worked with apostolic spirit in the service of God and of the Catholic faith, which, through the means of the Colleges which he had founded in Spain, has been preserved in Ireland. His life and virtues, so well known in the Society of Jesus, cannot receive full justice in this brief letter. His thoughts and desires were all for the glory of God and for the progress of the Colleges for which he toiled unceasingly. On the road and in the duties of an external character on which he was almost constantly engaged, Father White was a singularly recollected man, assiduous in prayer and meditation. Always resigned to the will of God, he never asked Him for anything (so he said shortly before his death) which was not accorded to him. God always blessed his petitions by moving the minds of Chapters, Prelates, and Princes with whom he was brought into contact to aid his work by their alms and gifts ; they knew him well for a man of great zeal and rare virtue. He practised great mortification, and even in advanced years kept in use every day the hair shirt and discipline.

He was most simple both in dress and in manner ; his usual food every day was a little bread and cheese, which he ate while journeying along the roads. To the lay folk whom he met he gave great edification ; to his students he was a living model of piety. Through his efforts many religious institutes were filled with excellent members, and his native country received many holy priests and bishops, who acknowledge that under God they owe everything to Thomas White.

In his last illness he gave great evidence of the holiness of his life ; and though death came unexpectedly while he was still organising this College of Santiago, he made very perfect acts of conformity to God's will, bewailing his not having served Him more fervently. In the fifteen

days of his illness he received Holy Communion three times and had Extreme Unction in good time. As we closed the commendation of his soul to God, he peacefully breathed his last; his countenance retained all the appearance of life. All this gives us a special pledge of Heaven; but we are greatly grieved for the loss to the Colleges of this Father, the Protector of his Country. His death has caused a profound sensation in this City, where it is deeply lamented.

Father White's opening period of work for the new Irish College at Salamanca extended almost continuously from 1594 to 1605; it was often varied by his apostolic questings, described in this letter of Father de Castro, S.J., composed and despatched from Santiago de Compostella on the very day of his holy and happy death. He was again Rector at Salamanca from 1617, and was constantly concerned with the sister Irish foundations: Lisbon stabilised by 1593, Santiago founded in 1612, Seville founded in 1619. Midway in those three decades of unremitting toil, King Philip III had given its full formal rank as a foundation of the Spanish Crown to the "Royal College of Irish Nobles" (El Real Colegio de Nobles Irlandeses), the title borne to this day by this ancient and most fruitful foundation for our race and faith.

It will at this point be apposite to sum up the educational situations of Irish Jesuit action within Ireland, as affected by intensive English action over that opening century, 1540—1640.

Ireland, "Missio Primogenita" of the Jesuit Order

The well-known first mission of the Jesuit Order to Ireland, that of the Nuncios Apostolic, Broet and Salmeron—two of the original companions of Ignatius and Xavier at Paris ten years before—was of a strictly tentative and exploratory character, diplomatic and not scholastic. It was definitely planned, in August 1540, by Pope Paul III. Broet and Salmeron were about five weeks in Mid-Ulster during the early spring of 1542, when King Henry's new policy of "amiable persuasions" was being worked with masterly skill and with much apparent prospect of enduring success. Its weakness was clearly seen by the two Jesuit envoys of the Holy See;

yet it was a weakness which in that age of religious upheavals, due to princes and dignitaries, experienced ecclesiastical investigators might be pardoned for not stressing in their official survey. There was little of Catholic leadership in Church or in the civil order evident at the time; but it was beyond doubt that the ordinary poor people, the masses of the Gaelic State, were thoroughly loyal to the Holy See. The casual or transient defections of their chiefs, or even of their bishops, were to prove ineffective in the sixteenth century as under the Penal Code of the eighteenth: as well might the withered leaf or branch seek to infect the vigorous tree. Broet and Salmeron were unable to advance into the regions of Norman influence; they did not get within fifty miles of any walled town of the Old English.

It was especially to these exposed areas, liable to state pressure operating on the lines of racial kinship and political allegiance, that the second Irish Jesuit Mission, that of David Wolfe and Charles Lea, 1564—1586, directed its attention. The state of education, lay or clerical, in the settlements of the Old English was deplorably weak ever since the confiscation of the Anglo-Norman Religious Houses in 1540—1542. In total contrast with the ample and detailed evidence which we have as to schools and learning of the Gaelic land, are the numerous and specific reports to Rome that the Old English in Ireland had practically no schools in the opening years of the Elizabethan domination. The wide powers as to the foundation of colleges, given to David Wolfe, had little practical effect. The Jesuit delegation was able to make an academic beginning at Limerick about 1565—1570; but the political grip of England was powerful enough to make it migrate intermittently to other towns further south—to Kilmallock, Clonmel, Youghal—during the next fifteen years. It was in Anglo-Norman Ireland and among the Palesmen that, under Elizabethan rule, was devised that elusive "itinerant," "straggling" school system, with illegal teachers, complained of so much by Anglican prelates, English mayors and seneschals, under George II, 1731—1750.

The third Jesuit mission to Ireland, which opened in 1598

with the nomination of Christopher Holywood of Artane as Superior and which was directed by him, after his release from English prisons in 1604, until the year 1626, was dominantly educational in its purpose and methods. While operating on the Irish front against the new English College and University at Dublin, founded (as they wrote to Pope Clement VIII) so that "the Irish youth shall be taught heresy by English teachers," they developed other bases of Catholic action on the Continent. Practical organisers such as John Houling, Thomas White and Richard Conway secured the foundation, for Irish clerical students chiefly, of Royal Colleges of the Irish race at Lisbon, Salamanca, Santiago, Seville, from 1592 to 1619; and the example was speedily followed at Antwerp, Douai, Louvain, Prague, Rome, extending to Paris, Poitiers, Bordeaux, and Nantes in the later decades of the 17th century. The results, as affecting the Queen's University of Trinity College beside Dublin, have been elaborately set out, in the opening sections of his book (1903) on *Trinity College, its Foundations and Early History* (1591—1660), by the Rev. Sir John P. Mahaffy, D.D., subsequently Provost of that institution. Dr. Mahaffy finds the evidence of Jesuit organisation omnipresent and so successful that it ended the chances of success for the Queen's new armoury of error. The State Bishop of Cork, for example, examines the schoolmasters of that city, and every three months examines the books that they use in their classes. He commits the teachers to prison, for he finds Her Majesty's title torn out of every grammar, even those new from the shops; and he asks for a Royal order "that no scholar shall depart the realm to go beyond the seas to any University save those of England." Burghley is informed in 1595 that the whole mischief is done in the schools of the walled towns. Waterford is the most determined in excluding English Protestant schoolmasters; but "every town is established with schools, that have an idolatrous schoolmaster, overseen by a Jesuit: thence they go to Spain, Italy, France."

The spirit of Catholic reaction, as Dr. Mahaffy admits, was greatly strengthened by what he styles English cruelty,

brutality, horrible savagery and hideous crimes committed against captive Irish children. They were seized and executed by such men as Bingham, the Queen's President in Connaught, Sir William Drury, President of Munster, Sir George Carew, Sir Henry Denny. Worse than such crimes, this modern academic historian adds, was " the cool way in which they are discussed, in reports, by Government officials." The foundation of Trinity College " was therefore untimely : it was regarded as a bulwark of English and Protestant influence ; and unless it could bribe or seduce, it was not likely to draw as students those who had been sent to recusant schoolmasters in Cork or in Waterford." Hence, Dr. Mahaffy concludes, " the Jesuits, by their vigorous and able action during the closing years of the sixteenth century, saved Ireland for the Papacy. It was they who translated the quarrel of race into one of creed."

Catholic Education Oppressed by the Stuarts

Midway in the reign of the first Stuart King of England, for the years 1611—1620, Father Richard Conway (1573—1626) provided for the information of the Holy See an exact account of the situation regarding Catholic Education in Ireland. It was based on first-hand information from Dublin, sent to him as Rector of the Irish College at Salamanca, 1608—13. A persistent worker in the cause of Irish education abroad and at home, Father Conway, a Wexford man, born and educated at New Ross, was subsequently Rector of the Irish College at Santiago 1613—1618, at Seville 1619—22 and 1625—26. From this Latin text of 1612 the following version is taken, as exhibiting in compact form the general difficulties that beset the cause he had so thoroughly made his own :—

The greatest injury they have done, and one of the most serious consequences, was the prohibition of all Catholic schools in our nation (naturally so inclined to learning), except an odd infant school in the principal cities and towns, where only reading, writing, and a little grammar are taught, with the object of sinking our people to degradation or filling the Universities of England with the children of those who had any means to educate them, where they might become more dependent on heretics and contaminated with their errors. They

have also taken singular care that all children be taught English, and they chastise them if they hear them speak their own native tongue. But as these . . . . efforts did not produce the desired effect and as the natives did not only not go to England, but rather preferred to remain in ignorance than run the risk of their faith and religion by doing so, or went secretly and quietly to many foreign parts, but particularly to Spain, where his Catholic Majesty assisted them and gave them some Colleges . . . . they determined, in order to stop the ravages these colleges were committing . . . . to found a University in the capital of the kingdom, in which they put heretical masters to teach . . . . and uproot the desire of Catholics to cross the sea. But the active diligence of our evangelical labourers frustrated their intent and induced many more to come to Spain than formerly, so that the heretics were left without more hearers than their own children and relatives. Convinced in the end that none of their plans produced the desired effect, they commenced to publish the fierce edicts issued against the Catholics in which . . . . it is commanded that no one send his son to these colleges, under pain of incurring the serious indignation of the king, confiscation of property, and imprisonment.

The Royal Proclamations against the education of Irish Catholic children in Continental Colleges were supplemented at home by another and a distinctly more effective line of action. Any orphan Catholic boy who was an heir to landed property was taken out of the care of his nearest relatives, even from his widowed mother, and confided to Trinity College, Dublin, for education and for perversion. The process was in full swing from the opening of the seventeenth century. This was the time when, as Dr. Mahaffy writes, the State "Church of Ireland had been trained, as far as Trinity College could do it, in the creed of Puritanism," and when "Puritanism had eaten completely into the habits of the College." The loyal Anglo-Norman Catholic families of the Pale, the Old English, had fought for England against O'Neill and O'Donnell at Kinsale in 1602, had in 1613 voted the attainder of the two Irish Earls, and had legalised the Confiscations and Plantations begun over two-thirds of Ulster in 1608. The King's thanks to these dutiful subjects of his was the compulsory conversion to Protestantism, under extreme Puritan control, of their kith and kin, helpless orphan children. The process was applied, by an illegal assumption of royal wardship,

to James Butler, the orphan grandson of Walter Earl of Ormond, that "Earl Walter of the Rosary" whose gift of a chalice of fine gold is still one of the treasures of the Catholic diocese of Cashel. The first Protestant Earl of Ormond was educated by George Abbot, the semi-puritan Archbishop of Canterbury, to whose custody the boy, at the age of ten years, was transferred from that of his Catholic mother and of his grandmother. When the recusant Anglo-Norman gentlemen of the Pale found this new process of compulsion applied to them, in addition to heavy fines, imprisonment, and civil outlaw following on their "excommunication" by the State Church for contumacious absence from Protestant services on Sundays, they remonstrated. The Lord Lieutenant, Chichester, was most indignant at the nature of their complaints concerning the use of Wardship as a Royal weapon of offence, as this extract from the State Papers will show :—

> Lord Chichester's Answers to the Recusants' Complaints.
>
> Opposites unto the articles preferred by the recusants of Ireland to the King, touching the disorder and abuses pretended to be in the civil government.
>
> Disorder 9. The King's wards are granted to such persons as the Deputy thinks fit, who often are the friends of wards or else persons of good quality ; and in every grant there is a clause that the ward shall be brought up, at the college near Dublin, in English habit and religion, which is the ill nurture the petitioners complain of.

By the close of the reign of James I, a further and very oppressive measure was devised for the Protestantising of these unfortunate Wards of his Majesty and for the extirpation of Catholic education. The "Jesuit MSS., Ireland," printed in part by Sir John Gilbert in the English Historical MSS. Series (10th Report, Appendix V) contains a letter of 1622-23 from one Irish Jesuit, in Dublin, to his cousin in Spain, also a member of the Irish Jesuit Mission :—

> I wrote to you about the feast of St. Michael (Sept. 29, 1622) on the plight of our fatherland, deeply afflicted as it is and oppressed . . . . The fact is that all the wards who are under the King's control are being menaced with the requirements of an Oath admitting the Royal Supremacy, when they seek to get control of their lands. Many young heirs have taken that Oath, clean against their conscience ; otherwise

they could get no revenue from their own rents, and would be continually excluded from the enjoyment and possession of their inheritance in lands . . . . Finally, no one who has not taken that Oath can open a school; and no gentleman may send his sons or his younger brother to lands beyond the seas for any branch of studies. The result will be the compulsory Protestantising of our countrymen. (8 March 1623).

The evil tradition of the Court of Wards, set as it was in close dependence on the work of Trinity College, still flourished when, in May 1644, the Catholic Confederation of Kilkenny was negotiating a peace with Charles I at Oxford and with his Lord Lieutenant, the perverted Butler heir who was now Marquess of Ormond. The New English, through their leaders in the Privy Council at Dublin Castle, were active at Oxford also. They sent over delegates, who with bitter sarcasm and official insolence met the complaints of the Confederate Catholics and, with all the effrontery displayed by Chichester forty years before, adopted his phraseology. They avowed the aims and gloried in the results of the State Policy of England in Ireland as regards education. The passage here given from the Protestant rejoinder was first published in 1905, in the papers of the Percivals, Earls of Egmont (Hist. MSS., Egmont Papers, I. 223-24). It is a compact summary of the continuous Tudor and Stuart plans, and well exhibits their bitter spirit.

The answer of the Protestant delegates from the Council of Ireland (Sir W. Stewart, Sir G. Lowther, Sir Philip Percivall, Justice Donelan) to the propositions of the agents of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland . . . .

This proposition, touching the incapacity . . . . of building of schools for the education of their youth . . . . doth obliquely cast some aspersions of tyranny on the state, as though the natives had not power to have civil education in their own country . . . . Whereas in truth it is far otherwise.

Touching the education of youth, ample provision is already made in the Kingdom of Ireland.

By the Statute 28 Henry VIII, c. 15, the minister and incumbent in every parish shall keep a free school in the parish, by himself or deputy, for the teaching of children the English tongue.

By the Statute 12 Elizabeth, c. I., there is a free school in every diocese for the Latin and Greek tongues and other grammar learning at the charge of the clergy and impropriators of the diocese.

In all plantations made by the King and his royal father, there be free schools erected richly endowed with lands and revenues worth one, two or three hundred pounds per annum.

There is a free school kept by the Court of Wards for the education of his Majesty's wards.

There be free schools in diverse corporations founded by Protestants, none that ever we know founded by Papists.

There is a college and university founded and endowed by Queen Elizabeth, augmented by King James; the revenues of it were worth about £1,500 per annum, till they were destroyed by the rebellion.

Yet we humbly conceive that it is very fit, if so it may stand with his Majesty's good pleasure, that *they* [the Catholics] be allowed to build as many free schools and Universities as they please, so that they be ordered and governed by *Protestant* schoolmasters, ushers, teachers, and governors, and by such laws and statutes as are agreeable to the laws of the land . . . .

Touching the Court of Wards . . . . great care is taken in bringing up the heirs of the nobility and gentry, his Majesty's wards, in religion, learning and virtue; a school, schoolmaster, usher, and all other necessary attendance, is kept for them, *which hath gained many good Protestants:* and truly this is the greatest tyranny and insupportable oppression that makes the Court and officers of the Wards be clamoured against, because that so great care is taken for bringing up the youth his Majesty's wards *in true religion.*

It was with this spirit of malignant and derisive persecution, this Puritanism given power by its official position as the State Church of England within Ireland, that the Mission of the Irish Jesuits had to contend under the Tudor and the Stuart dynasties. At times it might suit English foreign policy to suspend active pursuit of Catholic teachers. But any year might bring with it the destruction of schools, the imprisonment of teachers, heavy money penalties. It was so in 1615-17, as the Royal Visitation Book of that period, written up by the hand of Thomas Jones, the King's Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor, records for Waterford, Kilmallock, Limerick, Galway. The extant evidence for the sustained zeal of our Irish Catholic lay teachers of the Cromwellian epoch, 1655 to 1829 and later, the present writer has very inadequately essayed to set out from fragmentary records

(*Catholic Lay Teachers*, Dublin 1932). But that most moving history can at some few points be carried back a generation earlier, and even beyond.

The very practical results for the Irish Catholic teachers of these early years of the 17th century in Ireland may be illustrated by one sample instance, closely connecting together Waterford in Ireland with Salamanca in Spain. The Waterford classical teacher John Flahy, already referred to in this article, is on record, for the years 1601-1619, as the previous master of the following Salamanca undergraduates [*Archiv. Hibern.* II (1913) pp. 13-33] :—

(No. 13) Luke Bennett of New Ross, diocese of Ferns, entered 3 January, 1602 ; (19) Francis Grant ; (21) William White ; (22) John Lombard ; (52) Luke Wadding, son of Thomas Wadding and Anastatia Devereux ; (56) Thomas Wadding, his brother ; (59) Thomas White ; (61) Robert Walsh ; (64) Michael Browne, of Thurles ; (65) John Cormick ; (67) Francis Bray ; (68) Dermot O'Hilan ; (82) Matthew Sharpe ; (93) Richard Tobin (matriculated 10 March, 1617, after three years of Philosophy studies at Compostella.

The MS. record of the Royal Visitation of 1615 (Royal Irish Academy, folio 100) provides us with the following pithy entry at the close of the Visitation Entries for the Diocese of Waterford :

There is in the Citty of Waterford, kept by the Citizens, a publique schoolmaster in the Citty of Waterford, fflahie, who hath greate number of Schollers resorting to his schoole. Upon our coming to Waterford wee first sent for him, but could not get him to appeare before us. We then required the Mayor and sheriffe of the Citty to bring him before us, which they answered us they could not doe, by reason the said fflahy did fly out of the Citty a little before our coming. Whereupon wee left a letter with the Lord President of that Province, under our hands, praying and requiring him in his Maiesties name to suppresse him from the exercise of teaching and instruction of youth ; for he traynes upp schollers to become Seminaries beyond the seas and ill-affected members. Which the Lord President did undertake to perform.

It was so, again, when Puritan political activities in England led to the suppression of Catholic schools all over Ireland in the period 1629-1630.

Suppressing the Jesuit College at Dublin

Counting on the conditions produced by the marriage of Charles I with the daughter of France, Henrietta Maria, the Irish Jesuits, aided by the munificence of Elizabeth Countess of Kildare, had opened a Second School, with a Faculty of Theology and Scripture, and a Chapel, in Back Lane, Dublin. The Puritan excitement in England, 1630, gave Trinity College, Archbishop Bulkeley, and their official associates in the Castle the chance for the suppression, confiscation, and annexation that they craved. The preliminaries to this typical specimen of Stuart persecution and spoliation are furnished by Provost Mahaffy in his exhaustive treatise of 1903, when he notes "the growth of a counter influence likely to destroy not only (Trinity) College, but the whole (English) Plantation, if not stayed. This was the increasing power and pretensions of the Popish priests, Jesuits, and friars whom the weak policy of Charles, and still more his marriage with a Roman Catholic princess, were encouraging with the prospect of State connivance, if not toleration. These missionaries had hitherto been content to deter the youth of Ireland from going to the dangerous 'English College,' and in this they had to a great extent succeeded. Now we hear for the second time of an offensive movement." On April 2, 1629, Provost William Bedell, of Trinity College, records the appearance of a Royal Proclamation against priests and Jesuits; and Provost Mahaffy, in 1903, says that "it seems not to have been too soon, as far as the College was concerned." The processes of official action may be thus summarised from the State Papers and from letters of the time:—

The Lord Deputy, Falkland, writes to London:

We wish to suppress the erection of Colleges, for which purpose we have issued the accompanying proclamation. We look to your Lordship for help in correcting the contagion of Popery, which is always more apt to grow in peace than in war time; for, during war, *the military and Protestant party has a free hand* to weaken and spoil the Papists.

Provost Bedell writes to Strafford:

I know that His Holiness has created a New University in Dublin,

to confront His Majesty's College there and to breed up the youth of the Kingdom to his devotion. I have given advertisement to the State.

Instructions to the King's Lord Justices, Adam Viscount Loftus of Ely and Richard Boyle, Earl of Cork:

You are to suppress all Popish Colleges, and you shall cause people to send their children to endowed schools and to Trinity College, Dublin, which was erected for their benefit.

Sir Thomas Dutton, of Dublin, to the King:

Unless the Papist and seminary Schools are rooted out and destroyed, it will be impossible to plant the Gospel.

The Lord Justice, Richard Earl of Cork, to Lord Dorchester:

The Jesuits' House, owned and claimed by the Dowager Countess of Kildare, being one of ten seised into His Majesty's hands, is a newly-erected and good fabric; the chapel thereof is seated round about, is 75 feet long by 27 feet broad, with an altar, pulpit, and organ, and four places for confession, neatly contrived, galleried round about with rails and turned balusters, a compass roof, a cloister above, with many other chambers, all things most fair and graceful, like the Banqueting House at Whitehall.

It was out of that Banqueting House that His Majesty their King, a score of years later, was to be led out to execution by his Puritan masters. The destiny of the confiscated Jesuit College, Church, and Residence, in use for Catholics from 1628 to 1630, is thus recorded in the Travels of Sir William Brereton in Ireland, under date of July 11, 1631:

I saw also the church, which was erected by the Jesuits and made use by them two years. There was a college also belonging to them, both these erected in the Back Lane . . . . Whereof they were disinvested when my Lord Chancellor and my Lord of Cork executed by commission the Deputy's place. This college is now joined and annexed to the College of Dublin . . . . and in this church there is a lecture every Tuesday.

The Register of Trinity College states that "the possession and custodium of two mass houses in Bridge Street, and soon after the one in the Back Lane, was granted to us." This was then renamed Kildare Hall: its site, Provost Mahaffy affirms, was "Tailors' Hall in Back Lane, to which an iron gate through the houses leads, so that it is hidden from the thoroughfare." Finally may be cited the letter of Provost Robert Ussher of

Trinity College to William Laud, then Anglican Bishop of London, July 27, 1631 :

> The Lords Justices have given to us two of the superstitious houses lately seized by the King. We have settled several scholars in them according to the scheme. We should be very glad, in the event of a new Plantation, the King would grant us some lands for maintaining this House. Wherein I, in the name of this Society, do humbly beg your noble favour to this poor House, as heretofore we have continually tasted.

The scheme, dated July 17, 1631, is entitled : " Project for settling scholars in the House of Back Lane, granted to the College." It provides a Rector, Tutors, Lecturers, and Steward, and is endorsed by James Ussher, Archbishop of Armagh, the cousin of the Provost. The Anglican Primate declares : " This order for disposing scholars in the New house I hold to be very convenient."

So concluded, in the summer of 1631, what Provost Mahaffy most fittingly describes as this " campaign against Popery undertaken by the English Government, and its Protestant College, in Ireland." We shall meet Primate Ussher again.

From this confiscated Jesuit Church and College one document was rescued. It is the Letters Patent of Father Mutius Vitelleschi, dated January 27, 1628, erecting in the Jesuit residence at Dublin a Branch of the Sodality of the Blessed Mary ever Virgin, with affiliation to the principal Sodality at the Roman College, now the Gregorian University. The earliest surviving Sodality Register in Dublin is that of 1696, when Father Bernard Kiernan was Director. It records the foundation of the Sodality in the College of 1628 to 1630, and is described as the gift of Mr. Garrett Dillon. This leather-bound folio Register resumed its service, after the Suppression and the Restoration of the Order, when at Clongowes Wood College on October 22, 1820, it recorded for that date the revived affiliation with the Central Sodality at Rome. It contains the names of all the student members of the Clongowes Wood Sodality down to the year 1873.

T. Corcoran

(1) THE SALAMANCA PORTRAIT OF FR. THOMAS WHITE

Painted at the foot of the Irish College portrait of its founder is a four-line inscription :

VENe. Pe. THOMAS VITUS DE LA COMPANIA DE JESUS NATURAL DE CLONMELIA EN

YRLANDA VARON APOSTOLICO Y PRIMER FUNDADOR DE LOS SEMINARI

OS YRLANDESES EN ESPANA MURIO SANCTAMENTE EN SANTIAGO DE

GALICIA EN 28 DE MAIO DE 1622.

(Venerable Father Thomas White, of the Company of Jesus, native of Clonmel in Ireland, apostolic man, and first founder of the Irish Seminaries in Spain, died holily at Santiago in Galicia on the 28th of May 1622.)

V. Rev. Dr. Alexander J. McCabe, Rector, Colegio de Nobles Irlandeses, Salamanca, writes (23 February 1940) that, after the word ' PRIMER ' in the White inscription, the partly erased letters of the next word remain clear enough to show that the word was ' FUNDADOR.' Of the word that for some time replaced it, only the initial letter ' J ' remains legible.

(2) ACCOUNT OF JOUVANCY ; IRISH COLLEGES OF SALAMANCA AND OF LISBON (1592-1593).

Fr. Joseph de Jouvancy (Juvencius) 1643-1719, in his official *History* of the Jesuit Order (Rome 1710, text completed 1708), gives a concise but complete account (Book XIII., Part 5, page 215) of the work of Fr. Thomas White and a fuller account of the foundation of St. Patrick's College, Lisbon, due to Fr. John Holing, S.J., 1593. The account given by Mahaffy, 1903, amply confirms the Latin text of 1708 ; the Lisbon College lasted to 1769, ten years after the Pombal suppression of Jesuit action in Portugal. The sole error of Jouvancy is his description of Fr. White as ' grandaevus ' in 1592, when he was at most thirty-six years of age. He adds that immediately after the Salamanca foundation of 1592 (when the University had 6,630 matriculated students in attendance) Fr. Thomas White entered the noviceship of the Order.

THE DUTCH EAST INDIES *

BY JAMES MEENAN, M.A.

THE extension of the War has brought with it an increased realisation of the importance of Colonies. Never before, perhaps, has so much importance been attached to their economic importance, to their raw materials and possibilities of expansion, and in general to the degree in which they can supplement the war effort of their metropolitan country. It may be, as many critics of the late Mr. Chamberlain urged, that on one side at least excessive importance has been attached to economic factors at the expense of military ; it is nevertheless undeniable that the countries which have access to colonial empires have at least an initial advantage over those that must fight their way out of Europe into the resources of Africa and Asia. The colonies and dependencies (using the words without political significance) of the European countries supply to-day the motive power of the Allied cause. They send oversea the wheat and meat and other foodstuffs without which the belligerents would starve, petrol and rubber for their aircraft and mechanised forces, manganese and tin and other metals for their heavy industries. Without the free flow of these goods, if the belligerents were forced to rely on their European resources alone, it is plain to see that the War would soon end in an Allied defeat. In one sense the present War is not so much a struggle of one part of Europe against another as a titanic grapple of the New World against the Old.

The colonies, moreover, have other than purely economic uses. Distance, which reduces their advantages as food-suppliers, increases their military importance. A country possessing colonies has the inestimable advantage of being able to transfer much of her war factories and training grounds to lands still out of reach of the furthest-ranged enemy bomber. The Earl of Chatham claimed to have

* *Les Pays-Bas dans le Monde.* Par H. Riemens. (Payot, 1939, 40 fr.). *Netherlands India.* By J. S. Furnivall. (Cambridge University Press, 1939, 25/-).

conquered Canada on the plains of Germany: his successor attempts to reverse the feat.

Many of the advantages might have been foreseen, if not fully understood, before the outbreak of war. The blitzkrieg has brought a new use to colonial empires, as offering a refuge and a citadel to sovereignties dispossessed at home. The smaller colonial powers, unable to guard their homeland, find themselves forced back upon their extra-European possessions, and through the play of circumstance their colonies stand to-day as at once the sign and the means of their continued resistance. There has been nothing like it since the Royal House of Portugal took shelter in Brazil in the hey-day of Napoleonic domination.

The thought must have occurred to many, that it is curious how countries so small could have possessed empires so vast and so rich. A single fortnight sufficed to crush the European lands of Belgium and Holland: their colonies remain as the greatest colonial empires after those of Great Britain and France. Of those two countries the colonial empire of Holland is at once the older and by far the richer. It is of some interest to see how so small and, as we have seen, militarily so weak a country has developed possessions so great and so diversified.

To begin with a point which will be developed later, it may be said that only in the nineteenth century could a country such as Holland develop dependencies so remote and, further, be left in possession of islands so rich as the Dutch East Indies. It may be that unconsciously we tend to dwell overmuch on the contrast between the stability of civilisation fifty years ago and its state to-day: it may be that the commercial and unromantic nineteenth century is obscured by the nostalgic mist which engulfs the past. Nevertheless it is safe to predict that the century will above all be remembered as the period in which the European peoples set out to develop and exploit the resources of the other continents. The Irish emigrant landing at Boston from the typhus-ridden hulk; the South African millionaires buying up the soil of Johannesburg; the Russians driving to the Pacific were all expressions of the same force. There was room enough for all; the frontiers were not closed.

A comparatively small country like Holland could cultivate her garden untroubled by predatory neighbours.

It would be difficult indeed to think of any state so completely engrossed in its business affairs as nineteenth century Holland. Its attachment to commerce, it is needless to say, dates from the Middle Ages, and the Dutch Republic was among the first to shake off commercial restraints. Its policy of free trade and its abolition of the corporations were noted by Adam Smith in his *Wealth of Nations*. In the following century the Low Countries were as assiduous in the observance of the principles of Free Trade as Great Britain. The circumstances were all in their favour. The long peace, so rudely broken last May, fostered trade and, as the colonies developed, the riches of the kingdom increased. There was hardly any political issue to divert attention from the exchanges of trade; the political peace of the country was assured, as readers in some parts of Ireland will read with surprise, by an alliance between the Catholic and Protestant clerical parties.

Holland rapidly developed all the characteristics of a free-trading state. Its nine million inhabitants cannot be supported by domestic production; importation, and therefore exportation, of other goods is necessary. That necessity, in times of peace, increases steadily since, although it is often overlooked, Holland is a very fully developed industrial country. Just over one half of the gainfully occupied population are employed in factories. It will be remembered that this very density of population formed one of the worst handicaps to the Dutch defence last May.

It is needless to say that the colonial empire is of enormous importance in Dutch trade. Just over one quarter of the national wealth is to be found in the Dutch East Indies, and the proportion will assuredly grow under present conditions. Tea and tobacco especially are sent from the colonies to the market at Amsterdam.

The Dutch home market, however, does not attract all the products of the colonial empire in the same manner as London draws in the resources of the colonies and Dominions. The trade between the mother-country and the colonies is

dictated very much by self-interest on both sides. Several products, therefore, are sent direct to the market which can ultimately absorb them. Rubber will go direct to the United States; sugar, sold chiefly in Asia, will pay no brokerage on the Amsterdam market. In reverse, the colonies do not necessarily buy from the mother-country, but are free to buy in the cheapest market—though they do not, it is unnecessary to say, allow unrestricted supplies from Japan. On the other hand, again, the home country regulates her purchases by the same standards. In tea, tobacco, sugar, rubber, coffee and indeed in a variety of goods too long to enumerate, the colonies produce far more than Holland could absorb. Yet in none of these commodities does the home-country buy all her supplies from the East Indies. In recent years her purchases of coffee from them has not exceeded 10 per cent. of her total imports. On both sides the policy is still that of the nineteenth century, to sell in the dearest and buy in the cheapest market.

The changes which have occurred in the trade between Holland and the colonies, thus left free to follow economic forces, are of some interest. The colonial trade was always important, but could not fully develop until the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 more than halved the distance between the metropolis and her dependencies. Up to that time the exchange of goods had followed an east to west course. The type of trade had continued to be very much on the lines of the eighteenth century, being an import from the colonies of articles highly prized in Europe, such as spices and tea. The home-country gave little, if anything, in return. It was, perhaps, as good an example as could be found of the old colonial and mercantilist policy of exploitation. With the improvement of transport and communications after 1869 exploitation, in a sense, was intensified, but its nature had changed. In the forty years before the War of 1914 the Dutch East Indies were affected by European expansion in exactly the same manner as the countries of South America. There was, in the first place, a flow of immigration from the older continent; but, more important still, the increasing wealth at home was invested in the task of exploiting the resources of the Indies.

As communications improved, the European capitalist could extend his interests : as new capital was amassed, the powers of industrial production grew. These industries needed above all two things : raw materials and wider markets. The Dutch East Indies could supply both. In this golden age of European capitalism the tide of trade turned and now ran from west to east—bringing with it, first the consumption goods, secondly the production goods of the Dutch entrepreneur. At the same time the resources of the Indies seemed to offer a boundless field for investment. Their sugar and petrol, coffee and rubber, rice and copra captured the imagination of the leaders of Dutch finance ; and money in growing quantities was diverted from investments at home, which commanded diminishing dividends, to the more fertile resources of the East.

The cycle carried in itself the seeds of decay. The export of capital goods could not go on for ever ; and as the Indies grew more self-reliant and more economically mature, the tide of trade slackened. The War of 1914-18 marked almost the last stage in this process. Cut off from free trade with Europe, the colonies had to fend for themselves. After the war the tide again turned, and the balance of trade was from the colonies to Holland. In the depression of the thirties the mother-country took measures to protect her trade with the Indies. To a certain extent these were merely protectionist measures—similar to those taken by Great Britain and France against Japanese production. But they were intended also to draw the trade of the homeland and colonies closer together. Previously, as has been said, colonial exports were left to find their natural market and were able to find one. But the price of rubber steadily fell in the thirties, and even the sugar exporters found themselves engaged in an unexpected and unequal competition with the protected sugar-beet factories of Europe. The remedy adopted was that the home country should buy less from abroad and direct its purchases to its colonies. It has been seen that in the case of coffee and sugar, to take two examples, Amsterdam previously bought in the cheapest market wherever it might be found.

The period during which this experiment was tried was too short to make possible an estimate of its success. But it does seem clear that measures of this nature may do some good, but bring little permanent relief. The Dutch, like every industrial people, are the victims of their own past. For just under one hundred years the Dutch and with them the English, the French, the Germans and the Americans have expended their manhood and their treasure in exploiting the resources of Asia and Africa. At the same moment that that process came to fruition and the continents were better prepared than ever before to supply the needs of the industrial nations, those nations refused to take the goods. In the twenties and thirties Europe, having created greater possibilities of wealth and happiness than ever before, refused to accept the fruits of the resources which she herself had developed and sheltered behind tariff walls. Inevitably, all parties suffered. How possibly could the Dutch absorb the sugar production of Java—sufficient for almost all Asia ?

Besides the changes of trade already noticed, there is a yet more significant sign. The past twenty years have shown a growing diversion of the East Indies trade from Europe. In 1929, which might be called the last year of the old capitalism, the East Indies took 50 per cent. of its imports from Europe and 33 per cent. from Asia. In 1934 they took 35 per cent. from Europe and 54 per cent. from Asia. More recent events must necessarily still further increase the reliance of the Indies upon local resources, and the ties of trade with the home country, so thoroughly severed now, will be difficult to restore.

So far as we have traced the colonial commercial policy of Holland, it has not been found to differ greatly from that of Great Britain or, for the matter of that, from Imperial Germany. In the field of colonial administration, however, there are obvious points of difference. It may be of interest to describe a few of them.

It may be said at once that the degree to which the Dutch interested themselves in the administration of their colonies varied very directly with the intensity of trade with them

Before 1869 the traditional colonial policy held good, and the East Indies were regarded chiefly as sources for commodities incapable of production at home. So far as they were organised and administered, it was purely for Dutch interests. The Liberal Government then in office considered, characteristically enough, that no special administrative plan was necessary for native welfare and that the play of economic circumstances would bring prosperity without State intervention. Equally characteristically the play of economic circumstances did, in the last quarter of the century, bring prosperity.

The development of trade after the opening of the Suez Canal brought with it a stream of Dutch capital for the exploitation of the islands. Earlier in the century such capital as had been needed for development had been provided by the State. So great, however, was the expansion of trade that the relative importance of state action lessened and the initiative passed increasingly to the private investor. At the same time the centre of trade, and hence of what administration there was, tended to shift from Java, where it had long been centred, to the Outer Provinces—to Borneo, Sumatra, and the Celebes. It is unnecessary to remark that the degree of administration varied more or less directly with the needs of the Dutch investor.

By the end of the century the exploitation of the East Indies by the Dutch investor had become thorough enough to justify an interest in the welfare of the native. From the nineties therefore there may be traced a movement of opinion in favour of decentralisation and the establishment of some local body in the East Indies. It is unnecessary to remark that the term " local body " in this connection did not mean representation of the native races. The Dutch have nothing in common with the Indian experiment—which, as governors of native races, they distrust and, as neighbours, they dislike. The issue as regards local government was purely between the settlers and the home government. It was not, however, until the European War interfered with the machinery of government that any advance was made. In 1918 a Volks-

raad, a body comprised of some elected members and a greater proportion of nominated members, was set up. Its functions were, however, purely advisory. Power still resided in the Governor-General. Nevertheless the European population could now participate to some degree in colonial affairs, a concession all the more valuable in view of their composition. It is to be remembered that the Dutch in the Indies do not form a homogeneous official class such as the English in India. They are drawn from all sections of the home population and show all the variety of type that might be expected in so distant a dependency. Again, it is to be noted that Dutch officials have considerably greater freedom of action than their counterparts in India. Even the lower officials can, and do, criticise Government policy in the press. For these reasons the establishment of the Volksraad had special importance.

A further step in the direction of—if not Home Rule—at least Devolution was taken in 1927. In that year the constitution of the Volksraad was remodelled. Half its membership may now be native. Its powers were increased so far as to make its consent necessary for the adoption of the budget and to enable it to initiate legislation. It is clear that these measures were not adopted without misgiving: it is equally clear that present circumstances will have the profoundest effects upon the position of the East Indies.

It is clear that the Dutch East Indies differ very greatly indeed from British India. Apart from the differences which the disparity in size alone makes inevitable, apart also from the commercial relationships involved, it is clear that the positions of the dominant race in the two dependencies are in sharp contrast. The proportion of Europeans in India is in the first place far smaller, a fact which, apart from the history of the European colony in India, must have its effects upon policy. In the second place, the Europeans in India belong exclusively to the official or semi-official class. The Government of British India have always had full power (and have displayed considerable readiness) to control the number of Europeans. In the East Indies, on the other hand, the European population may be as mixed as it would be at home.

The Indian civil servant again is, normally at least, subject to the law. In the East Indies the Dutch officials have wider powers. They have already a say in the making of policy; they have also considerable latitude in their application of it. Their relations with the hereditary Regents who form the highest rank of native officials are, and have for years been, freer than those of the British official with his Indian officials; yet the Dutch officer is by no means as bound by the law as is the British. In this part of colonial administration it has to be said that the Dutch have never encouraged their native population to expect a day when power will be transferred to them. Neither have they at any time encouraged any of their native population to go to Europe for education. The mighty problems of politics and political morality with which British and Indian alike have struggled for twenty years find no echo across the Indian Ocean.

This short review of the growth and administration of the Dutch colonial empire suggests two points of some interest. In the first place it would seem that the smaller nations, who led the revolt against economic *laissez faire* in the twentieth century, were its chief beneficiaries in the nineteenth. The divorce of trading from political interests meant that economic policies were no longer so many means of bloodless conquest. The adoption of freer trade represented by lowering of tariffs facilitated the international division of labour and, by doing so, made possible the prosperity of the smaller states. When international trade depended upon the economic resources of each country and was truly composed of business exchanges, it was possible for the smaller states to enter the world market and make the best use of their resources. In the nineteenth century, indeed, this freedom of exchange benefited all alike—the small nation and the big, Holland as much as Great Britain, Switzerland as much as Germany. But the small nation gained more than the greater, for she had more to lose. In a clash of arms, or even in an economic contest waged for political reasons, she must inevitably be defeated. More than any others then, in the European community the small nation's interest lay in the preservation of international trade and in

the principle of abstention from political interference with trade.

Granted that other countries ordered their economic policies according to commercial, not political, interest, the small nation could, by enterprise and labour, win for itself a position far greater than its size could warrant. The nature of the return to exploitation of its resources might vary; but almost every small nation in Western and Northern Europe improved its position at this time. Holland indeed won a special position by virtue of its ancient colonies. Yet other states, cut off by geography from the possibility of colonies, enriched themselves in other ways. Countries such as the Scandinavian states and Switzerland, unable to acquire territories, were able to do the next best thing by investing in their resources. Even in this country the accumulation of our foreign assets dates from the period of international free trading. It is difficult to know if we should regret not having a colony to show instead!

There is a further point raised by the last reflection. The importance of the colonies did not lie only in their wealth. It lay also in the fact that each colony represented a field for the training of administrators, for experience in the art of government, and for immigration. It may be true that years of colonial government usually unfit men for anything else; but the very fact that there is a need for a governing class tends to produce such a class. It is often of considerable value to the State. In this country, too, we have lost so much by emigration that we can appreciate how fortunate were those countries which could absorb at least some proportion of their population in their colonies.

The second point to which reference was made above is that it seems inevitable that the day of the small country is over. It is obvious that in this century small countries cannot acquire large empires as in the past. It is equally true that the small country cannot enrich itself by trade as in the days of *laissez faire*. The small nation can endure and prosper as a trading unit if trade is conducted on business lines. It cannot survive for a moment if the great nations regard trade

s a branch of power politics. Yet that was increasingly ıe case in the decade before the present war. The United tates tariff of 1930, the Ottawa agreements of 1932, and the erman system of barter have all contributed to hamper the berty of the small nation. Each of these measures were riginally adopted as a means of averting economic depression : ıeir bargaining power in the political field became obvious as ıe War came nearer. Nor is it conceivable that, whatever ıe result of the present conflict, the small nations will recover ıat unhampered freedom which they once enjoyed. To put ıe matter at its very lowest, there is now no small colonial ower which is fully independent, and those very few other eutral states which survive can trade only at the pleasure of he belligerents. It may be that the empires of Belgium and Iolland will be restored ; but it is certain that, even in that vent, these states will be part of a wider economic organisa- ion. It is no less certain, if these states lose the military ecision, that their homelands and their colonies will be welded ıto a greater whole. It can only be hoped that, whatever he event, the new order will bring as great and as widespread n amount of human happiness as the old.

JAMES MEENAN

A NEGLECTED CORNER OF IRISH HISTORY

BY DR. RICHARD HAYES

THE fine zeal of many research workers in recent years has broken much new ground in the field of Irish history. There remains, however, a corner of that field, largely untouched, which would give a needful and welcome yield. For the period from 1600 to 1800 not a little of the history of the Irish nation, as distinct from that of the dominant planters' colony, is to be found abroad and remains mostly unwritten. Lecky's statement, that the real history of Catholic Ireland during the first half of the eighteenth century lay in France and Spain, contains but part of the truth. For one thing, every decade of the earlier part of the seventeenth century saw an almost continuous stream of exiles, lay and cleric, from Ireland—an exodus that reached its peak in 1653 when 40,000 of her sons, most of whom entered the service of Spain, left her shores. In France alone the fact—almost incredible but vouched for by various authorities who based their estimate on official documents—that close on half a million Irishmen died in her service between 1690 and 1750 can only be interpreted as showing that the greater proportion of several successive generations of young Irishmen during that period crossed the sea to join the French army.[1] When it is remembered that the flower of Ireland's nobility and gentry formed part of these various migrations, the effects on every aspect of Irish life then and since would be difficult to measure. The late W. B. Yeats, speculating on the question from one viewpoint, declared that "since the flight of the Wild Geese, who might have grown to be leaders in manners and taste, Ireland has had but political leaders." A great story, at any rate, epic in character, rich in pathos and tragedy,

[1] The *Archivium Hibernicum* (1914), quoting from the Vatican archives, states that as early as 1614 there were over 300 Irish students in Flanders and Spain; and that more than 3,000 Irish soldiers, including 1,000 nobles, were helping the King of Spain in the same countries.

mains untold. And though its materials lie scattered all ver Europe, one hopes, despite the present unpropitious nditions in a war-mad continent, that its chronicler may in ie time appear and help to fill a *lacuna* in our nation's history.

In the following pages an effort is made to summarise ie result of the writer's delvings in search of such materials the various state archives at Paris. As his main preoccupation was with the French Revolutionary period, the ummary here given is limited in its scope; it is presented ere with a hope that it may stimulate students to engage in ie more comprehensive work of an earlier and more extended eriod. The zeal and industry of research students of other ountries, which had less intimate and varied associations with rance than Ireland had, have produced volumes that might ell stand as examples for Irish students to follow. Thus lungary's relations with France have been calendared and ublished under the title of *Inventaire sommaire des Documents des Archives et Bibliothèques publiques de France relatifs à la Hongrie.* while similar volumes regarding Switzerland and anada have also been published.[1]

The manuscript repositories at Paris to which the writer btained access were those of the *Archives Nationales*, *Archives de la Guerre*, *Archives des Affaires Etrangères* and *Archives de la Marine.*[2]

Archives Nationales. The state documents preserved here re of a miscellaneous nature and relate to every phase of rench history during several centuries—political, social, ecclesiastical, economic and educational. The entire contents are lassed according to their nature and subject into Series lettered rom A to Z, while each Series has several subdivisions which re indicated by additional letters and numbers. Thus Series *W* comprises several hundred cartons containing reports of

[1] These are *Rapport sur les Archives de France relatives à l'histoire du Canada* by . E. Roy (Ottawa, 1911); and *Inventaire sommaire des documents relatifs à l'histoire de la Suisse conservés dans les Archives et Bibliothèques de Paris* by E. Rott (Berne, 1882-1894, 5 Tomes).

[2] The collections of manuscripts housed in Paris libraries, like the *Bibliothèque Nationale* and the *Bibliothèque Mazarine*, contain some of Irish interest, and the same applies to governmental and other archives in French towns like Nantes, Bordeaux, Rouen, &c. The importance, from an Irish viewpoint, of the archives of such continental centres as Rome, Simancas, Vienna, Brussels, &c., need scarcely be referred to.

the trials before the Revolutionary Tribunals, while Series AF. II is mainly concerned with the proceedings of the National Convention and the Committee of Public Safety at the same period. A manuscript calendar gives a general idea of the subject matter of the documents contained in each Series. Scattered through the documents and letters of many of the Series is a certain number of Irish interest, the finding of which often requires some labour and patience. Thus, to follow the varied fortunes of the Irish College at Paris (with which is bound up much of Irish history in the French capital) necessitates the examination of many cartons of different Series (a certain number of papers bearing on its later history is, as we shall see, to be found also in the *Archives des Affaires Etrangères*). In the Series M. 147, for example, is a collection of documents relating to its foundation. One of them, *Mémoire concernant le Collège des Lombards*, tells how a number of Irish priests came to Paris at the beginning of the seventeenth century and were favourably received by Louis the Thirteenth, who in 1623 permitted them "de recevoir des donations et aumones pour vivre." Later in the century (1677) they got possession of the *Collège des Lombards*, of which they remained "in peaceable possession" till 1707. Trouble began in that year, for there had come to Paris a number of young Irish students, not clericals (*écoliers irlandais*), who tried to gain admission into the Lombard College. Through a royal decree they succeeded in their object, and a conflict lasting many years began between the two classes of students. The Series M. 147, which contains an account of the founding of the Irish College, has a number of documents drawn up by its priests in 1736 (*Mémories pour les prêtres irlandais*) defending their privileges against the lay students.

In the same Series (M. 665) containing these papers is another of a different kind—viz. *Mémoire sur l'état actuel d'Irlande*. It is an account of conditions in Ireland written by Wolfe Tone in Philadelphia in December 1795 at the request of Adet, the French minister in that city.[1] The

[1] There is another copy of this *Mémoire* in the *Archives des Affaires Etrangères*, Tome 589, Angleterre, which is autographed by Hamilton Rowan.

Series AF 111.186B has in dossier 857 two other accounts of Ireland written by Tone in Paris (*Mémoires sur l'Irlande*), which are French translations by Nicholas Madgett of the originals. This Series AF contains in some of its subdivisions many documents of Irish interest. Thus the cartons numbered 53 to 58 of AF. 11. have a large number of the letters of the Revolutionary general, James O'Moran, many of them protesting against his suspension and imprisonment as a suspect in 1793. Carton 55 has several hundred documents and letters addressed to him, while carton 56 has a similar number and contains as well his book of orders and correspondence and his Diary. Carton 348 has a further batch of his letters, as well as some of his fellowcountryman, General Thomas Keating, of whose career there is an account in dossier 2833. Carton 286 has documents regarding the arrest in the autumn of 1793 of the *abbé* Kearney, the Superior of the Irish College, owing to his suspected royalist sympathies; while carton 288 has a document (August 1793) granting exemption to William Jackson (sentenced to death in Dublin in 1795) from the general arrest of British subjects in France, as he was in the employment of the French government.

The following Series (AF. III) has in cartons 57 and 58 some papers relating to Nicholas Madgett, whose activities in Paris in the cause of Irish independence readers of Wolfe Tone's *Journal* will remember. A native of Kinsale, Co. Cork, he was all his life an official of the French Foreign Office, and it is stated among other things in these papers that he was employed in translating into French all matters of interest that appeared in English journals. Carton 57 has also some documents regarding the *abbé* Thomas MacDermott, who had been chaplain to the French ambassador in London before the Revolution. Arrested at Nancy in June 1793 under the decree ordering the imprisonment of all British subjects in France, he here protests to the National Convention against his arrest and requests his release. This was eventually granted and, after the suppression of the Irish College, he carried on that institution as a private school, where he had Jerome Bonaparte and other notabilities as pupils. In carton

186. B. of the same Series (AF. III) is the report of Bernard MacSheehy on the state of Ireland in 1796—he was sent officially there a few weeks before the setting out of the Hoche expedition.[1] (MacSheehy had been a student of the Irish College at Paris and was arrested in 1793 under the decree regarding British subjects in France. His offer to join the French navy was accepted, and he was later placed on Hoche's staff. He rose to the rank of General subsequently and was killed at the battle of Eylau in 1807). In the same carton (186. B.) dossier 857 has a description of Ireland in the year 1769 with a proposal of invasion,[2] while dossiers 858 and 859 have reports on Irish conditions in 1796 and 1797 by another student of the Irish College—Thomas Duckett, an enigmatic figure of the time whom Tone, without any proof however, suspected to be an English agent. Dossier 860 has letters from General Hoche (November 1796) complaining of the obstacles being placed in the way of the Irish expedition by the Ministry of Marine—"the next thing I expect to hear from them," he writes, "is that there's not enough water in the sea!" The same dossier has letters of his written after the failure of the Bantry Bay expedition. And finally in the Series AF IV, carton 1672 contains a memoir of Lewins, the United Irish agent in France, in which he refers to the mission of Colonel Oswald to Ireland in 1793 when the Girondists were in power.[3] Oswald had been a friend of Lord Edward FitzGerald in Paris and, as early as June 1793, had brought an offer of military help from the National Assembly to the popular leaders in Ireland.

The Series F.7 comprises a large number of cartons whose contents deal with police administration in the various sections of Paris during the Revolutionary period. Documents of Irish

[1] His report is entitled *Journal du voyage fait par le Citoyen MacSheehy . . . envoyé en Irlande pour traiter avec les patriotes de cette Ile sur les moyens proposés à la bonne reception des Francais.* There is also a copy of this report in the *Archives des Affaires Etrangères—Memoires et Documents*, Tome 53. The report has been published in the French journal *Sabratache* (Tome V, 1897).

[2] Details of other projected invasions of Ireland in the years 1759 and 1780 are in documents in cartons 1597 and 1598 of the Series AF.IV.

[3] Dossier 858 in carton 1861 of the Series AF.III has references to the conversations of Arthur O'Connor and Lord E. FitzGerald, the U.I. envoys, with Hoche and Barthelemy at Hamburg and Basle in May 1796. The same carton has letters, too, from De La Croix, the French Foreign Minister, and Barthelemy at this period. Barthelemy was the French Minister in Switzerland, and was in receipt of Pitt's gold at the time of the conversations!

interest are found here and there among them. Carton 2511 has one relative to the arrest, by the Thermes section, of three Irish doctors, by reason of their British citizenship, while carton 2514 contains the decision of the authorities to imprison Irish students in the seminary of their own country, some of whom, however, like Bernard MacSheehy, were released on promising to join the French army. Bearing on this, it is interesting to note that in Series C. carton 271 (dossier 666) has a protest against imprisonment from a number of Irish students which was presented to the National Convention in September 1793. They state, among other things, that they sympathised with the Revolution and that but for English domination Ireland would follow the example of France. The original congratulatory address, presented to the French government by the meeting of English-speaking residents of Paris held in November 1792, is in carton 242 of the same Series C; the signatories, predominantly Irish, include Lord Edward FitzGerald, the Sheares brothers, Bernard MacSheehy, William Jackson, Nicholas Madgett, etc. In carton 500 of Series O. are papers relating to a pension for the *abbé* MacMahon, who was chaplain to the Bastille at the time of its destruction in 1789, while dossiers 470 and 472 in carton 30 of Series DXLX (which deals largely with ecclesiastical matters) have several appeals from the authorities of the Irish College requesting exemption from the laws confiscating ecclesiastical properties; dossier 472 contains a reply granting the exemption.

Series W. comprises, as has been mentioned, several hundred cartons containing reports of the trials before the Revolutionary Tribunals of Paris, for which there is a manuscript index in two volumes. Among them are the reports of the cases of a number of Irishmen arraigned before the Tribunals, most of whom were found guilty of the charges against them and were guillotined. In addition to the proceedings of the trials, there are in several of the dossiers—*e.g.*, in that of General O'Moran—a large collection of letters not relative to the trials but to the career of the accused. The following tabulated list, prepared by the writer from the contents of

the various cartons, gives the name, date of trial, verdict, etc. in the case of each prisoner :—

Name	Occupation	Verdict	Date	No. of Carton
St. Ledger, Edmund	Doctor	Acquitted	8 Jan., 1794	W. 308 & D. 819.
O'Moran, James	Ex-General	Death	6 March, 1794	W. 335 & D. 585.
Dillon, Arthur	Ex-General	Death	12 April, 1794	W. 345 & D. 676.
Roden, Patrick	Irish weaver and army deserter.	Death	6 June, 1794	W. 380 & D. 876.
Delaney, Thomas	Army deserter	Death	6 June, 1794	W. 380 & D. 876.
Burke, Francis	Sailor	Death	5 July, 1794	W. 382 & D. 888.
Ward, Thomas	Ex-General	Death	5 July, 1794	W. 360 & D. 766.
Malone, John	Servant of General Ward.	Death	5 July, 1794	W. 428 & D. 865.
O'Brennan, Pierre	*Ex-curé*	Death	5 July, 1794	W. 430 & D. 966.
O'Sullivan, John	Fencing Master	Acquitted	18 Dec., 1794	F.7. 4422.
Madgett, Nicholas	*Ex-curé*	Acquitted	23 May, 1795	W. 548.

Archives de la Guerre. There are two main divisions of the manuscripts of the War Office, viz., les *archives historiques* and *les archives administratives.* The former, numbering approximately 4,000 volumes, is subdivided into *les archives historiques anciennes* (ending at the year 1792) and *les archives historiques modernes* (from 1792 to the present day). It comprises accounts of campaigns and general military history. A published calendar of the 4,000 volumes in seven tomes is of great advantage to students, the sixth and seventh tomes being exhaustive indices of the personal names and subjects occurring in the immense collections.[1] A certain number of the volumes contain varied information regarding Ireland and Irish officers in the French service during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Thus, for the short period of the Jacobite wars in Ireland (December 1688 to February 1692) there are seventeen large folio volumes entirely devoted to Irish affairs, each of them containing on an average more than a hundred letters and documents.[2] These include various

[1] It is entitled *Inventaire Sommaire des Archives historiques (archives anciennes) du Ministère de la Guerre.* (Paris 1930).

[2] These seventeen volumes are numbered 892–896, 903, 942, 960–963, 1065, 1066, 1080, 1083, 1084 and 1109. Here is an example of the calendared contents of one of them (Vol. 963) : " Vaisseaux mis par Louis XIV au service de Jacques 11 : arrivée de celui-ci en Irlande : son manifeste : siège de Londonderry : combat dans la baie de Bantry : Duquesne en Ecosse : Guillaume d'Orange et Schonberg en Irlande : troupes francaises envoyés contre eux : bataille de la Boyne : retour de Jacques en France : rappel des troupes ; siège de Limerick : relations de France et d'Irlande &c."

eports of French officers on the battles of the Boyne and Aughrim and on the siege of Limerick. One of the reports on the Boyne by Colonel Zurlauben (Vol. 962) is a particularly vivid account of that event, while among those on Aughrim is one by Colonel Tesse (Vol. 1080) who (apart from St. Ruth) was the only French officer at that battle. The publication of these seventeen volumes would be of no small value to students of the period. In later volumes other events of Irish interest are treated in detail—*e.g.*, accounts of the battles of Fontenoy and Laffelt and of the Irish regiments engaged in them (Vols. 3084 and 3090). The *archives historiques modernes* contain, too, a number of documents of varied Irish interest. Among them are a copy of the *Journal de l'Expedition d'Irlande, rapporté par le citoyen Jean-Louis Jobit* (Vol. 506)—Jobit was a captain of Grenadiers who came to Ireland with General Humbert in 1798; a history of Dillon's Irish regiment in 269 pages (Vol. 956)[1]; and details of various French projects for an invasion of Ireland during the eighteenth century (Vol. 1414). Further French plans for Irish invasions during the Revolutionary period and reports on conditions in Ireland at the time are in volumes 1420 and 1421—they include *Mémoires* by Wolfe Tone, Thomas Addis Emmet and other notable Irishmen.

In the *archives administratives* are, as has been mentioned, the personal dossiers of officers of the French army—many of whom were Irishmen—during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The writer was mainly interested in those Irishmen who were prominent in the Revolutionary period—soldiers like Generals O'Moran, Kilmaine and Arthur Dillon—regarding whom he has incorporated his researches in a published volume.[2] As a type of the other dossiers that of General O'Moran may be taken. Comprising one hundred pages, it is almost a complete biography of that distinguished soldier. In it are set out details of his birth in Ireland, his military activities and promotions, his arrest as a suspect

[1] In the *Archives historiques de la Guerre* there is a history of the various regiments of the French army in a collection of more than 400 volumes. The collection is entitled *Historique des corps des troupes de l'armée francaise*—it includes a history of the regiments composing the Irish Brigade.

[2] *Irish Swordsmen of France.*

during the wars of the Revolution, his trial and execution, while scattered through it are a considerable number of his letters.

Archives des Affaires Etrangères. Among the immense mass of manuscripts in the French Foreign Office are a certain number of Irish interest that have been almost untouched by our historians. A portion of these deal with Jacobite affairs from 1688 downwards. Thus the *Negotiations de M. le Comte d'Avaux en Irlande*, 1689-90 are contained in volumes 168-172 of its archives; these have been published by the Irish Manuscripts Commission, under the editorship of Professor James Hogan, from a copy in the English Foreign Office. But much more bearing on Jacobitism in these archives, as in the *Archives de la Guerre* already referred to, remain unpublished. The parts played by Irishmen in the Stuart Risings of 1709 and 1715 and their, in some ways, predominant part in The Forty-Five await a chronicler. Much material lies in the French F.O. archives which would throw new light on the activities of that long line of notable Irishmen and their sons who saw in the Jacobite cause the cause of their country—the Dillons, Butlers, MacMahons, Nugents, Lallys, O'Briens, MacCarthys, O'Sullivans, Stapletons, FitzGeralds, Waters, Cantillons, etc. There is, for example, on the movement centring round Prince Charles Edward a large mass of documents (Vols. 75-93, *Mémoires et Documents, Angleterre*)—among them, it is interesting to note, is the Manifesto (Vol. 78) which he addressed to those he considered his rightful subjects and which was printed and published in Dublin in August 1745.

A certain amount of the material, too, deals with the history of the Irish regiments in the service of France. Thus Vols. 1375 and 1383 (*Affaires Interieures, France*) have many interesting memoirs written by Irish officers (*e.g.*, the famous scientist Chevalier Darcy and Count Walsh de Serrant). These were protests against the proposed reductions of the Irish regiments about the middle of the eighteenth century, when English intrigues were working through the Duke of Bedford, British ambassador in France, and were aiming at the abolition of the Irish Brigade.

For the period coinciding with the Revolution and the last years of the eighteenth century there is a comparatively large amount of material relating to Ireland, of which the writer has made partial use in some books published during the past few years. Limitation of space, however, necessitates the presentation here of little more than the titles and subject matter of the chief letters and documents. Under the heading *Correspondance, Angleterre*, they are as follows in their respective volumes :—

Tome 582. Letter from L. Maher, Procureur of the Irish College (Paris), to le Brun, Minister of Foreign Affairs, protesting against the invasion of that institution by Municipal officials in the year 1792, when they placed seals on the registers, etc.—Letter from some students of the I. College, strong supporters of the Revolution, to the Foreign Minister, denouncing the administration of the college and its Superiors (Oct. 1792).—Letters from the abbés Walsh and Maher regarding the I. College and giving names of the students who had returned to Ireland.

Tome 583. Letter from the Minister of Foreign Affairs defending the I. College against the Municipality and demanding that it should act more fairly " both for the sake of the principles of social order as well as for the particular affection which the Irish nation bears us."

Tome 584. Letter from Thomas Paine to the Foreign Minister regarding Ireland and the United Irishmen (Dec. 1792).—Letter from M. Coquebert, French Agent in Ireland, describing conditions there (Dec. 1792).—Report (anonymous) on Irish conditions in 1792.

Tome 587. Letter from Nicholas Madgett to Minister suggesting that emissaries be sent to Ireland to spread the principles of Liberty and Equality.—Several other letters from Madgett.—Letter from the *abbé* MacDermott asking for release from prison.—Letter from an Irish Franciscan (Terence O'Mullan) asking for release from prison.—Letter from Le Brun, Minister of Foreign Affairs, regarding an Insurrection in Ireland (1793).—Report of Colonel Oswald on conditions in Ireland, where he had been sent by the French government (June 1793).—Letter on the state of Ireland from the ex-priest Richard Ferris, an English agent posing as a member of the Irish Revolutionary Committee.—Several other letters from Ferris, in one of which he asks to be exempted from the law against foreigners in France.

Tome 588. Reports of Richard Ferris (Sept. 1793) regarding political conditions in Ireland and England.—Report from Hamilton Rowan (Oct. 1794) on Ireland with references to William Jackson, who had been sent to Ireland as a French agent and was arrested there.

Tome 589. Memoir of Wolfe Tone on Ireland translated by Madgett.—Letter from Tone to Foreign Minister asking for the release

of his brother Matthew, who had been arrested as a suspect at Dunkirk.—Report on Tone by the Foreign Minister.—A long unsigned document on the state of Ireland in 1796.—Another document, *Reflexions sur l'Irlande*, by Thomas Duckett.—Translation of Tone's second Memoir by Madgett.—Letter from Carnot to Foreign Minister, suggesting that Colonel Richard O'Shee be sent to Ireland.—Report of Colonel O'Shee.

It should be mentioned that Tomes 53, 54 and 55 of another section of the archives—*Mémoires et Documents, Angleterre*—contain a number of letters and documents of a similar nature to the above. (Tome 53, for example, has a copy of the Report on Ireland by Bernard MacSheehy, to which reference has already been made).

Archives de la Marine. Several collections of manuscripts in the Marine archives for the last decade of the eighteenth century may be regarded as supplementing those of the same period in the F.O. Tomes IV, V and VI of the series *Mémoires et Projets* have much material regarding the French invasions of 1796 and 1798. In Tome IV is a description of Ireland in 1796 (*Quelques Reflexions sur l'Irlande*) by Lewins, Tone's co-worker for the Irish cause in Paris; it gives a new and singularly vivid picture of the country at the time. Tomes IV, V and VI of another series, *Campagnes*, have a considerable amount of similar material—among which, in Tome VI, is the log-book of Admiral de Galles during the expedition to Bantry Bay, as well as a report of the French officer Bedout on its failure. Regarding the same expedition there are in still another series, B.B.IV (Tomes 102, 103, etc.), many letters from Hoche and others written before and after that event.

Richard Hayes

RUDOLF THURNEYSEN: 1857–1940

BY JOHN RYAN, S.J.

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AMID the din of battle the death of Professor Thurneysen in July of the present year was allowed to pass almost unnoticed. From the few belated lines in the morning newspapers it would not easily be gathered that the greatest of contemporary Celtic scholars had been lost to the world. The superlative needs no qualification, for his possible rivals in the field of Celtic studies were the most generous in acknowledging his pre-eminence. Perhaps the highest tribute that can be paid to his memory is the mere statement of this unanimity. In the rugged and prickly terrain of Old Irish, in particular, he was the recognized *Magister*, the ultimate authority beyond whom there was no appeal.

How he came to take an interest in the Celtic languages at all is described by himself in an earlier volume of this journal (STUDIES, XIX, 29–30). By origin he was Swiss, having been born at Basel in March, 1857. In ancient times this corner of his motherland was the territory of a small Celtic people called the Rauraci. These had joined the Helvetii in their famous irruption into France, so well known to schoolboys from their painful research in *De Bello Gallico*. Like the other would-be emigrants the Rauraci were forced to return, and some years after Caesar's death were given a town and capital, Augusta Rauracorum, by the Roman general Munatius Plancus. The course of the *Völkerwanderung* saw this town destroyed by the Alemanni—to whom, presumably, Thurneysen owed his ancestry.

In common with all Swiss boys he was taught French and was intrigued to learn, from some stimulating if inaccurate source, that this was an amalgam of the Latin and Gaulish languages. Here was an avenue which he felt the itch to explore. At the University, therefore, where his general line

of study was comparative philology, he devoted special attention to the Latin and Romance languages. But Gaulish, too, was needed if he was to understand how much, if any, of that ancient tongue had survived in the speech of modern France. By this time the pioneer work of Zeuss and Ebel had borne fruit, and Celtic philology could be studied under competent professors, the cautious and painstaking Windisch at Leipzig and the brilliant but erratic Zimmer at Berlin. Thurneysen became the pupil of both; and his knowledge was further increased by a period of study at Paris under Gaidoz, founder and first editor of the *Revue Celtique*.

Thus liberally equipped he found means of satisfying his youthful ambition when, as a Privatdozent at Jena, he lectured on both Romance and Celtic philology. In 1887, at the relatively early age of 30, he was called to the lovely town of Freiburg in Breisgau to fill the chair of Comparative Philology in its University. There he was to stay till his call to the yet more beautiful town of Bonn on the Rhine in 1913. His daily classes were on Old Greek, Latin and general linguistics, but he was always ready to make an excursion into the Celtic languages when suitable students offered.

Thanks to extraordinary ability and unwearying industry his grasp of the last-mentioned tongues became every day more firm. In the invaluable *Bibliography of Irish Philology and Literature*, published by Dr. R. I. Best in 1913, no less than fiftynine articles and notices are listed. These dealt chiefly with matters of grammar and philology, but occasional commentaries on texts and textual problems betrayed his competence in a field wherein he was later to win enduring fame. There were happily then in existence quite a number of journals and cognate learned publications in which his studies could be printed. His first short article on an obscure Old Irish verb was published in Volume VI of the *Revue Celtique* in 1883. For the next dozen years the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung*, the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen*, the *Indogermanische Forschungen* were the periodicals most favoured. Very fittingly the first contribution to the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie*, then just founded in 1897,

ears his name. It dealt with some forms of the Copula in rish—a subject, incidentally, that often caused amusement n his class; for as one who had no instinct for the spoken anguage he was always liable to lose direction momentarily n the trap-strewn land of ɪr and ᴛá!

As the twentieth century progressed, he was to become nore and more identified with the *Zeitschrift*, which, after Meyer's death in 1919, was edited by Pokorny (Meyer's uccessor in Berlin) "unter Mitwirkung von Rudolf Thurneyen." Not that this natural predilection was ever carried to he point of exclusiveness. Thus a short article on "Certain nitial changes in the Irish verb after preverbal particles" ppeared in *Ériu*, the journal of the School of Irish Learning, n 1907; whilst the text of the "Questing of Athirne" was ublished by him in the same journal in 1914. To the *Sitzungsberichte* of the Bavarian *Akademie der Wissenschaften* nd of the sister Academies in Göttingen and Berlin he also ontributed.

In the *Zeitschrift für Celtische Philologie* alone as many as 7 articles from his pen appear in the years 1913–1939 (Volumes X to XXI) not covered by Dr. Best's *Bibliography*. Nor loes this include studies made by him in collaboration with upils or others (for example, the study on the *Tochmarc Emire*, Z.C.P. IV, 498 ss., made by Rev. G. O'Nolan—later Professor at Maynooth—and Hans Hessen under his direction t Freiburg), and the series of reviews, oftentimes of independent value, which he contributed to the same journal. With he language of more modern times he seldom dealt. He did, owever, publish the *Deórchaoineadh na hÉrionn* of the Franciscan Séamus Carthún, with Latin and contemporary English translations, under the title "La Lamentation de l'Irlande" in the fourteenth volume of the *Revue Celtique*. Most remarkable of all, in quantity and quality, is the work f his old age, after his retirement from the University. Even p to his eighteenth year his physical and intellectual powers—part from growing trouble with sight and hearing—had lost ittle of their early vigour.

Thurneysen's longer treatises and books are not numerous,

but they have the distinction of being masterpieces. In 1909, while yet at Freiburg, he published his *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen*, still the standard work on Old Irish grammar. To this volume he added, by way of second part, a brief collection of Old Irish texts, with a splendid commentary and vocabulary. It proved to be an admirable aid to students in their first discouraging encounters with our complicated ancient tongue. Of the *Handbuch* Thurneysen himself was wont to speak with almost exaggerated modesty. It summarized, he said, the little he knew of Old Irish grammar after twenty years of teaching activity; and its deficiencies sadly reflected the premature death of John Strachan, scholarly Professor at Manchester, who had planned the book with him and had intended to collaborate in its production. The only ground, he declared, for giving it to the public at all was that knowledge of the subject had increased considerably since the appearance of the second edition of *Grammatica Celtica* and of Windisch's small grammar. For twenty-five years after the publication of the *Handbuch* Thurneysen was revising old judgments and collecting fresh material for an enlarged and improved edition. That work he was fortunately able to complete before his lamented death. It was agreed that the new *Handbuch* would be more serviceable to students the world over if it appeared in English. Through the enterprise and liberality of the present Irish Government this was made possible. A former member of Thurneysen's class at Bonn, Mr. Michael Duignan, was sent to assist the Master in the laborious task. The writing and translation proceeded according to plan. Before Thurneysen died the bulky manuscript was left by him in a state which he regarded as satisfactory. It is now in the hands of highly qualified editors, and its publication may be expected in due course.

A problem with which Thurneysen's mind long busied itself was the age and the literary history of our chief Irish tales. Did they all come down from remote antiquity? Was it proper to regard them as a single whole, of which every part went back to time immemorial? It was impossible to answer these questions without journeying to Ireland to

consult original manuscripts. To his great delight he was able to undertake such a visit in 1911. The Government of Baden rose to the occasion by giving him leave of absence for the summer semester and by providing a fund to cover expenses. He was thus enabled to examine manuscripts at Brussels, London, Oxford and Edinburgh as well as Dublin. The fruits were apparent in a treatise *Zu irischen Handschriften und Literaturdenkmälern*, published in 1912. Here for the first time an effort was made to follow step by step the process of Irish literary development. Thurneysen showed, for instance, that a number of tales derived from the lost book called the *Cín Dromma Snechta*, a manuscript of the tenth century. But the treatise just mentioned was merely the forerunner of a much larger book, written by degrees as he worked out the notes made on the 1911 journey. While the war of 1914–1918 lasted he could not think of publication, and when that conflict ended in the "so friedlos gestaltete Friede" (to use his own expression), the outlook became, if anything, blacker. Help, however, came from an unexpected quarter. While the government of Dublin Castle was going unwept to its doom, a new government of native Irishmen was gradually assuming control. So in 1921, amid the miseries of the war in Ireland and the peace in Germany, *Die irische Helden- und Königsage* was published at Halle, "with help from the Irish Language Department of Dáil Éireann." All that need be said about this monumental work is that it is worthy of a place beside Thurneysen's *Handbuch des Alt-Irischen*. It brought something like order into the chaos of Irish literary tradition, gave solid chronological criteria for the dating of many sagas, demonstrated for the first time the dependence of various manuscripts upon one another. It showed, too, within the limits imposed by circumstances, the features which the storyteller had found probably awaiting him and those which he had added from his own inventive brain. To students of Irish literature this book is likely to remain essential for generations.

Yet another field of major importance in Irish scholarship was to be cultivated and enriched by him before he died.

This was the remote and forbidding land of Old Irish Law, called more commonly in Ireland Brehon Law. The beginning of his special interest in the subject was due to a happy accident. One of his colleagues at Bonn, a distinguished professor in the Faculty of Law, was determined to acquaint himself with the ancient Irish legal system. He insisted on coming to Thurneysen for instruction once a week. Unable to shake him off but convinced of his incapacity to shed enlightenment, Thurneysen opened page 1 of Volume I of the Rolls edition of the Brehon Laws. At first he could make little of the obscure text, but as time went on he realized with delight that the meaning somehow was growing clear to him. He therefore persevered. Once again the fruits were to be extraordinarily rich and sufficiently abundant. Here and there, through five volumes of the *Zeitschrift* and in the Proceedings of the Berlin Academy, his treatises and articles on legal questions were published within the years 1923–1931. This is not the place to enter into details. Suffice it to say that the importance of his contribution to the study of Irish law can hardly be overestimated. In vital matters—such as the interrelation between manuscripts and redactions, the distinction between earlier and later texts, the essential character of the extant tracts, whether portion of a Code or the mere speculation of lawyers—the investigation of this most difficult subject was put on a scientific basis for the first time. Nor is this to detract from the merit of two earlier workers, O'Donovan and O'Curry, giants in their day, of whom Thurneysen (unlike some writers of lesser note) always spoke in terms of respect.

Before we pass from the theme of law it may be added that during a welcome visit to Ireland in 1929 Thurneysen directed, week by week for many months, a *Seminar* in the Moore Library of the Royal Irish Academy. The tract studied was the law-text *Cáin Lánamna*—'Law of (married) Pairs.' The *Seminar* was attended by a distinguished group of scholars, the majority, perhaps, former pupils of his own at Freiburg or Bonn. Something of the results may be seen in the volume published by the Royal Irish Academy, *Studies in Early Irish Law*, under the editorship of Professors D. A.

Binchy and Myles Dillon. In this book Thurneysen himself edited the tract anew, with translation, critical notes and commentary, while six members of the class contributed chapters on various connected problems. The work is thus a repertory of information on woman, viewed from the juristic angle, in Celtic Ireland of pagan and of Christian times. Thurneysen was able, too, to collaborate with Dr. Best in the facsimile edition of the oldest fragments of the *Senchas Már* for the Irish Manuscripts Commission.

From the gathering of " pupils " mentioned above (they included Professor Bergin, Professor Macalister, Professor E. J. Gwynn, the late Professor O'Máille) it will rightly be deduced that Thurneysen had outstanding qualities as a teacher. Just to be in his class was indeed a liberal education. He liked all present to co-operate actively ; and it was a delight to see how quickly the shy student could lose his self-consciousness and surprise himself by the hardihood with which he sought to unravel knotty questions. Thurneysen was quite incapable of treating any suggestion with contempt. He would repeat it aloud once or twice, turn it over in his mind, perhaps add something to lend it strength, then accept it if possible. If unable to do so, he would put it aside with a cheery shrug of obvious regret. Or again he would accept a suggestion provisionally ; but a minute later, remembering some insuperable objection, he would announce with a ringing laugh that his acceptance had been premature. He sat, in a word, at the table's head like a father surrounded by loving children. There was an atmosphere of ease, of natural, unstrained effort, of mutual assistance, almost of family intimacy, that this kindly personality created. How efficient that method was (he would laugh his charming laugh at the very idea of its being called a ' method ') the later careers of his pupils testified. It would be invidious to particularize ; but we need not go outside our island shores to see how fine minds became finer by his stimulus, increasing in breadth and depth, learning to esteem and to achieve accuracy without lapsing into pedantry, restraining the extravagances of an oversharp wit by a keen and well-balanced sense of proportion.

Few, finally, of his pupils will forget the little social

gatherings in his own home. Here Frau Thurneysen excelled as the tutelary deity, the presiding goddess whose wand scattered joy and plenty among the guests. Never did Thurneysen's bright laugh ring more merrily than when she would declare, with affected seriousness, that to her it was unintelligible how any sane and normal man could make philology his life-study! When the coffee-cups had been cleared away, the talk would begin in earnest. The range of discussion might be mediaeval in its grandeur—*de omni re scibili et quibusdam aliis!* There were, it must be confessed, some topics to which by nature he was antipathetic. Mythology ranked high among these. By enthusiasts of druidic temperament, who saw our ancient land through a haze of golden mist, whose ears were ever alert for the hammer of the leprachaun and the wail of the bean sidhe, he was frankly bewildered; for him the granite and the limestone were enough, and the vigour of a race emphatically and extremely human, whether bent on good or evil. But there was no subject on which he could not talk; and there was always much to learn. A new facet of his genius would constantly appear. He might, for instance, take up a well-known book like Bury's *Life of St. Patrick* and discuss it with illuminating insight. Though not a Catholic himself, a Catholic could argue out such questions with him by the hour and never find ground for the least offence. When compelled to disagree, he differed widely from the older generation of Celtic scholars, compared by a critic with those "dragons of the prime that tare each other in their slime!" No man could hold firmer in reasoned argument, but none would shudder more indignantly at the thought of engaging in rude and clamorous polemics. In this, as in all things else, he was the very model of the cultured gentleman.

For him, then, as for few others not of her own household, the Irish nation has cause to mourn, joining therein with the multitude of his former pupils who will always gratefully remember Rudolf Thurneysen as the most inspiring of teachers and the most sincere of friends.

JOHN RYAN

IRISH CONTRIBUTION TO COLONIAL NEW YORK

BY PROFESSOR RICHARD J. PURCELL, PH.D.
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NEW Netherlands, strangely enough while a Dutch colony, attracted a few Irish refugees: a Sarah Ryan in 1638; an Andriessen, a native of Dublin, who was located at Katsill as a deputy collector of revenue and suspected of selling liquor to the Indians; Thomas Lewis, "the Irishman," a native of Belfast and a Cromwellian exile to Holland from which he was shipped out as a carpenter by the Dutch West India Company; William Hayes, a surgeon; and an Indian trader who was suspected of being born in Dublin. In 1664 the saintly Isaac Jogues, Jesuit missionary in temporary sanctuary in New Amsterdam, heard the confession of an Irish Catholic from Virginia. Again there were a few individuals with Irish names noted in the vital records of the Dutch Reformed parish at Fort Orange, later Albany.[1]

Following the English seizure and occupation of this Dutch colony (1664), there were a number of Irish arrivals of whom several were prominent enough to be named in one record or another. Robert Doughty, minister, an Irish servant girl, Patrick Hayes from Maryland, Thomas Carr, John Daly, Michael Pickett, Dennis McCarthy, William Walsh, Thomas Griffin, carter, Andrew Clare, Robert Butler, Quigley, Abraham Corbett, distiller, William Cox, flour merchant, Lawrence Reade, Patrick Crawford, Thomas Flynn, surgeon, James Riley of Hempstead, Long Island, and a group of Ulsterites who formed a Presbyterian congregation at Jamaica. John Magan patented a farm of a hundred and sixty acres on Staten Island (1682), where Richard Hayes and Daniel Kelly also owned land. At Albany Lieutenant Jervis Baxter, a recognized Catholic, was the personal representative of the proprietor, the Duke of York.[2]

[1] All the notes will be found at the end of the article.

The Duke's Laws extended toleration to all Christians, and later this Catholic proprietor instructed Governor Edmund Andros to " permit all persons, of what religion soever, quietly to inhabit within the precincts of your jurisdiction without giving them any disturbance or disquiet whatever, for or by reason of their different opinions in matters of religion." [3] Indeed there was little official interest in the Anglican Establishment, and the colony was becoming a babel of languages and creeds prophetic of the state's future. However, there could have been few known Catholics if the Dutch Reformed minister, Henry Selyns, was well informed when he wrote: " As to Papists, there are none: or if there are any, they attend our services or that of the Lutherans." [4]

A new era for Irishmen was inaugurated with the governorship of Thomas Dongan (1634-1715) who gave the colony a progressive administration and proved himself " one of the very best of all the colonial governors." [5] The youngest son of Sir John Dongan, Bart., a soldier, a member of the Irish Parliament, and a landholder in County Kildare, nephew of Archbishop Peter Talbot, Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, and of Richard Talbot, Earl of Tyrconnell, and a brother of Sir Walter Dongan, an Irish patriot in the Congress of Kilkenny, and of William Dongan, Earl of Limerick, the governor was well connected with the Jacobite aristocracy. As a soldier under Turenne and a lieutenant-governor of Tangier, he was not without experience. In his regime in New York (1683-1688) there was complete toleration, though the governor was instructed to see that the Book of Prayer was read on Sundays and that the Sacraments were administered according to the Church of England. He welcomed the persecuted Huguenots and urged toleration for Jews. He was empowered to license local teachers, although those coming from England were to be approved by the Archbishop of Canterbury and later by the Bishop of London. Legal or not, he countenanced the establishment of the Latin school by Thomas Harvey and his fellow Jesuits, one of whom Henry Harrison returned to Ireland in 1690, but later came back to labour and die on the missions of Maryland.

According to ducal instructions, Dongan summoned the General Assembly which drafted the Charter of Liberties for royal approval. He won the good will of the Iroquois tribesmen, with permanent advantages to England, in the series of colonial wars with the French; he recommended a colonial postal system and the construction of inter-colonial roads. He built a manor house and a hunting lodge on his estate of 25,000 acres on Staten Island, to which he retired when he was superseded by Andros. With the fall of the Stuarts he suffered a heavy loss of property, although part of this estate on Staten Island was preserved for three nephews, and he experienced anti-Catholic hatred. In 1691 he returned to Ireland, where seven years later he succeeded to the earldom of Limerick and was so recognized by King William. As he was unable to meet the debts on his Irish lands, he lived in seclusion in London until he found relief in death and was buried in the little Anglican churchyard of St. Pancras.[6]

Dongan did popularize New York in Ireland; yet few Irishmen came over as settlers, for the gentry anticipated an improved and more tolerant era in their own land under the Catholic James and staked everything upon the Stuart cause. Lesser men were not migrating, though some peasants were settled on the governor's demesne lands. An occasional gentleman like Thomas Parcell at Newtown became a patentee of lands. At Dongan's suggestion, some twenty-five Highlanders were located near modern Newburgh under Patrick McGregorie, who as muster-general of militia was killed in the Leisler rebellion. Dongan, foreseeing the need of colonists, urged in an official report (Sept. 8, 1687) that, if Connecticut and the Jersies be added to the domain: "There are people enough in Ireland who had pretences to Estates there and are of no advantage to the country and may live here very happy. I do not doubt, if his Majesty think fitt to employ my Nephew, he will bring over as many as the King will find convenient to send who will be no charge to his Maty after they have landed." [7]

Such a migration might have been encouraged and aided if James II had retained his throne, and the later move-

ment of the Wild Geese, not only soldiers but merchants, artisans and labourers, might have been turned to the New World rather than to the Continent. As it was, in answer to a questionnaire from the Committee on Trade and Plantations, the governor could report that there were few Roman Catholics, that all religious creeds and men of no belief were represented, that some French and Dutch settlers were arriving, but that, " I believe for these seven years last past, there has not come over into this province twenty English, Scotch or Irish familys." [8]

Other English governors with Irish racial connections or with plantations in Ireland made the colony of New York better known in that unhappy island and thus, directly and indirectly, encouraged migration—especially of Ulsterites.[9] Richard Coote, first Earl of Bellomont and second Baron of Colloony in County Sligo, grandson of the ferocious Sir Charles Coote and a favourite of William and Mary as a traitor to James II, was governor of County Leitrim and later of New York, New Hampshire, and Massachusetts (1697-1701). On his death his widow retired to her lands in County Sligo. His successor (1702-1708) was Edward Hyde, Viscount Cornbury, who was married to a daughter of Lord O'Brien of Clare and had acquired sequestered lands in Ireland. Cornbury persecuted Francis Mackemie, an Irish native, and Hampton for preaching Presbyterianism on the plea that " the law would not permit him to countenance strolling preachers, who for aught he knew to the contrary might be Papists in disguise." Governors, even those not notably upright, were sometimes more orthodox than kings and annoyingly anxious to enforce the law pertaining to religion. William Cosby, governor of New York and New Jersey (1731-1736), also came of an influential Irish family and was a connection of the Duke of Grafton.

With the complete settlement after the Revolution of 1689, Catholics were no longer granted toleration. Legally, they did not exist even as recusants. The penal code was enforced ; Protestants alone could hold office or vote with the enforcement of the test oaths, and they alone had full subject-

nip privileges before the courts. A legislative act of 1700, introduced at the suggestion of Bellomont, excluded Catholic priests from the colony under penalty of death. While long a dead issue, the provision remained on the Statutes until July 20, 1784; and in the late colonial years Charles J. Smith, historian, complained against the unwisdom of its non-enforcement. Fear of "Romanism" caused a closer scrutiny of orthodoxy and loyalty to the government in England by the governor or his local agent in the case of applicants for teachers' licences. With some satisfaction Bellomont could report (1700) the execution of two soldiers for mutiny, one being Ensign Robert Cotterel, late of King James's "Popish Army in Ireland," [10]

On the turn of the century there was an infiltration of Irish immigrants, chiefly from the North of Ireland and largely Presbyterians with some Protestants and Catholics. In 1700 a number of recruits from Ireland arrived; and it may be added that soldiers on the expiration of their service frequently remained in the colony to take advantage of generous allotments of land. In 1703 a list of settlers in New York City included a number of Irishmen; in 1710 about forty Irish names appeared in the records of the surrogate and registrar's office; and between 1698 and 1720 twenty-eight Irishmen were made freemen, that is voters, some of them being scriveners, merchants, and auctioneers. Again the vital records of the Dutch Reformed Church disclosed a number of Irish names.[11] In 1704 Thomas Flynn, chirurgeon and school-master, advertised his business in Cortlandt Street, which he hoped was not too far uptown. A few years later, Edward Fitzgerald flourished as a conveyancer and school-master at New Rochelle.[12]

In Albany of the early years of the eighteenth century there were a few Irishmen of record: Patrick Martin, John Finn, a cooper, William Hogan, "fyremaster," Daniel Hogan, high constable, John Hogan, wealthy land-holder, John Collins, attorney, Thomas Barrett, a petitioner to buy land within the city limits, John Burke, and Patrick McGregory, carman and city porter.[13] In 1712 Thomas and Walter Dongan petitioned

to lay out lands of the former estate of the Earl of Limerick on Staten Island. Two years later John Collins of Albany petitioned for 2,000 acres of land, and in 1719 Patrick McKnight sought a tract near Albany.[14] Thomas Colgan arrived in 1720, taught the Charity School of Trinity Church, married Mary a daughter of John Reade, also an Irish immigrant, and advanced to Episcopalian rectorships at Jamaica and at Flushing, while his brother, Fleming, sailed the seas as captain of a merchant ship. By 1720, immigration was sufficiently large to cause Brigadier Hunter to write to Secretary Popple that, "The inhabitants increase day by day from New England, and of late from the North of Ireland." [15]

As early as 1710, on the arrival of three thousand Palatinates, there was expressed fear of immigration. Officials could hardly wait until these foreigners were distributed on lands far removed from the mouth of the Hudson River. As a rule, few Germans arrived in New York—this probably being the chief reason why they were considered more desirable servants than the English and Irish indentured servants, who were said to include more runaways and felons. As ship-captains turned adrift unsold servants rather than bear the cost of carrying them back to the British Isles, the colonial legislature passed an act in 1721 (stiffened in letter and in enforcement in 1756) which provided for the registration of incoming passengers and the return of undesirable entrants or the bonding of the ship-captain to guarantee that such persons would not become vagabonds at the charge of counties or towns. There is little material on public relief for pauper immigrants, but in 1729 aid to the extent of six shillings per week was voted Timothy Dally, a mariner with a wife and four children, until such a time as he should be physically and mentally well.[16]

The Scotch-Irish element increased after 1720, although New York was by no means so popular a port of entry for Ulsterites as Philadelphia. While Celtic or the so-called "South Irish" names were appearing more frequently in records and in journals, there were only thirty natives of Ireland in a list of newly-made freemen from 1725 to 1750;

ut only men of some standing as teachers, scriveners, property-wners, and artisans were so honoured.[17] In 1728 the *Happy eturn* from Dublin landed a cargo of indentured servants, ncluding mechanics of all kinds. In 1733 an incomplete le of *Bradford's Gazette* gives twenty-eight vessels from Cork, Dublin, Waterford, Newry, and Belfast, indicating a brisk rade with the southern as well as with the northern ports of reland. It may be taken for granted that there was an ccasional paid passenger as well as a few indentured servants on ach ship, for the transportation of servants to sell in the Ameri-an market was a profitable venture for merchant-traders.[18]

Several bearers of the Norman name of Purcell were made reemen; and there was a representative group of Carrolls, purely Celtic cognomen. Patrick Carroll, who married a laughter of Charles Mott (1740) a local celebrity for whom a treet is still named; James Carroll, a market gardener, ought land for $5,000 which he later sold to Colonel Roger Morris, who built the famous Jumel Mansion and whose son ecame a provision merchant and an attendant at Trinity Church; and Thomas Carroll, "an eminent teacher of mathe-natics," who came about 1750 and taught his own advanced chool for a number of years. Master Carroll's son, George d. 1789), was associated temporarily with another Irishman, John Patterson, as publisher of the *New York Evening Post* 1786).[19] So many individuals of the same name did not ndicate that the Celtic Irish were numerous, but that they ame in family-groups or from the same centres in Ireland on reception of encouraging communications from the first emi-grant of the family or community.

In 1732 James Banks bequeathed his estate to a nephew, Edward Banks of Youghal, which no doubt made the youth of that region think of wealth to be won in the colonies. Immi-gration was stimulated by such letters as that of James Murray, a recent arrival, to Minister Boyd of Aughnacloy in Tyrone, urging that he advise the poor people to leave for America. His own sons could make as much teaching in one year as he could preaching for three years in Ulster. A little learning gave a man a scholarly reputation in America, and teachers

were paid as high as £100 a year. Men who have come as servants are now justices of the peace. Lands are good and cheap in the wilderness. There is a good market for whatever may be brought as clothes, tools, or seeds. Artisans are paid as high as six shillings a day; a labourer four shillings; and a lass to spin over four shillings a week. Such a communication must have stirred that agrarian community in which it was circulated to a realization of colonial advantages.[20]

Five Celtic, aside from Scotch-Irish, names were appended to a petition in 1737 to remove Sheriff William Cosby a placeman of the late governor. About this time there are references to Anthony Duane (1682-1747), a merchant who came from Galway and Mayo about 1700, married a rich burgher's daughter and became interested in land-grants and in colonizing projects. His son, James (1733-1797), became a lawyer, attorney-general and Indian commissioner under the crown, a patriot, a member of the Continental Congress, a correspondent of Alexander Hamilton who set forth his criticism of the Article of Confederation to him, first mayor of New York City and founder of Duanesburg.[21] In 1732 Charles Boyle obtained a warrant for lands in Queen's County with John Kelly appearing as his lawyer. In the years immediately following, warrants for lands near Schenectady were issued to Andrew McDowal, Patrick McClaghry, and Edward Collins. John McNeall petitioned for a thousand acres in Albany county. Peter Winn and John Dillon obtained the privilege of buying 4,000 acres from the Indians in the Mohawk Valley. Charles O'Neill petitioned for lands in the Catskills.

About 1737 Sir William Johnson (1715-1774) arrived from Smithtown, County Meath, to take charge of the estates in the Mohawk Valley of his uncle, Vice-Admiral Sir Peter Warren, an English planter in Ireland, whose marriage into the powerful De Lancey family increased his New York holdings. Johnson, who became the leading figure in western York as an Indian trader and a superintendent of Indian affairs, assisted materially in retaining the loyalty of the Five Nations in King George's War and in the French and Indian War. Associated with him after 1756 was Colonel Guy Johnson (c. 1740-1788).

a kinsman whose Irish brogue was perfectly clear to the tribesmen in the French and Indian struggle and to his loyalist Indians and pioneers during the Revolution. Sir William Johnson held as high as one hundred thousand acres in the region of the County Tyrone, which he aimed to colonize with new immigrants—especially Ulsterites. In this he had some success, as is indicated by the names of forty-five pupils in his Free School at Johnstown in 1769. As early as 1740 he settled sixteen Irish families in the town of Glen, which later fell prey to Indian ravages. One of his numerous employees was reputed to be the best pugilist in Western New York. Johnson's last testament mentions three Irish servants —including a schoolmaster Wall, Flood his manager, and Bryan Lafferty his clerk and later a surrogate judge of Tyrone County who were apparently imported by him. And among schoolmasters who applied to him for assistance were Charles and John Reilly, Henry Glass, and Thomas Ewing.[22]

In connection with the "Popish plot in 1741" when John Ury, a teacher wrongfully suspected of being a Catholic priest, was executed according to the statute in regard to priests in the colony, there were a few Irish witnesses for the prosecution and a number of Irish suspects, who were later discharged as English soldiers: Ryan, Kelly, Murphy, Connoly, John Griffin the pedler, and David Johnston the hatter.[23] Marriage lists show an occasional Celtic name among English and Scotch-Irish cognomens whose holder was no doubt a cradle-Catholic who had lost the faith for want of religious services. Fourteen such individuals of either sex appear in the records of Trinity Church in a brief period of two years (1746-1748).[24]

At this time there were several Irish schoolmasters in New York City and its immediate vicinity: Miles Reilly, an "interpreter and linguister"; Cornelius Lynch, who stressed mathematical subjects; John Wilson, who left an estate to his children in County Monaghan; Joseph Farrell, who had kept a school in Freehold, New Jersey; John Clark, philomat, who kept a school in Brooklyn and translated foreign tongues for export-merchants.[25]

In 1745 there arrived from Belfast a printer, Hugh Gaine (1726-1807), who set up as a publisher, established *The New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* (1752—), and rather ruined his later career by his loyalism during the Revolution. At the end of the War, petition to remain was granted only on condition that he ceased to publish this Tory sheet as such.[26] Jeremiah Blood was another arrival (1750), whose family succeeded on lands in Schenectady and Montgomery Counties and whose grandson Benjamin Paul Blood (1832-1919) won a reputation as a writer and philosopher.[27]

John O'Kane (1734-1808) lost his Catholic faith in England and was shipped from County Antrim to New York by an irate father who would have no apostate about. A successful merchant, he and his wife, a daughter of Reverend Elisha Kent and an aunt of Chancellor Kent, established a famous family despite its loyal sympathies during the Revolution. A daughter married Governor Joseph C. Yates and a son one of the Van Rensselaers. Among his later descendants were Judge John K. Kane, a Pennsylvania politician of more than ordinary note, Elisha Kent Kane, a naval officer and an arctic explorer, and General Thomas L. Kane of the Civil War.[28]

With 1750, the number of immigrants from Ireland showed a marked increase. A careful researcher has noted the ships sailing between New York and Ireland as recorded in an incomplete file of the *New York Gazette and Weekly Postboy* (1750-1758). In 1750, there arrived two ships of which one was from Derry; in 1751, one from Dublin, two from Belfast, one from Cork, and one from Carrickfergus; in 1752, four from Dublin, two from Cork, one from Waterford, and one from Carrickfergus; in 1755, one from Drogheda and one from Carrickfergus; in 1756, one from Cork and one from Dublin-Cork; in 1757, one from Drogheda, one from Waterford, two from Dublin, and one from Coleraine; and in 1758, two from Dublin, one from Belfast, four from Derry, one from Larne, and one from Cork. Such a list of vessels indicated a heavy trade with passengers and indentured servants, a fair percentage of whom obviously were coming from the south of Ireland. The increased traffic in indentured

rvants was suggested by advertisements for fifty-four run-ways of both sexes and "both kinds of Irishmen" in the me journal for 1750-1757.[29]

Several Irishmen of distinction flourished in New York ty in the era between 1750 and the conclusion of the French d Indian War.[30] Major Henry Dawson of a well-known mily in Dublin served as clerk of the Common Council for veral years. Thomas Kearney, a realtor and local agent as promoting land-sales in Monmouth, New Jersey. Matthew errall and others petitioned for a tremendous tract in the en Albany County (1752), where two years later Theodore agin also sought 26,000 acres. Such requests, and they pparently were granted, indicated an interest among the rowing number of immigrants for western locations.

Daniel O'Brien operated sloops and supplementary stage-aches which, according to advertisements, transported assengers and freight to Perth Amboy, Burlington, and hiladelphia under single management and hence cheaper and ore efficiently. Despite active competition, his business was ourishing when he and a later partner, Patrick Cowan, sold to Carson, James McGee, and Patrick Hanlon. As a captain f a sloop trading with Philadelphia, he was lost at sea. Several rish captains were engaged in the coastal trade and even in ipping to Halifax, the West Indies, and Lisbon.[31] John eary, or O'Leary, popular turfman with the local gentry, as said to be a Catholic who journeyed loyally to Philadelphia o make his annual Easter duty in the Jesuit Church of St. oseph in Willing's Alley.[32]

An Irish Catholic tailor from Coleraine, Hugh Mulligan, ettled in New York with his family about 1746 and did well nough to send his son, Hercules (1740-1825), to James O'Brien's academy in which some of the sons of the local entry were trained. Later Hercules Mulligan gained renown s a rebel, an active participant in the Sons of Liberty, a member of the provisional war commission (1776), one of the ob which wrecked the statue of King George, a prejudiced udge in cases dealing with the persons and properties of ories, a British prisoner, a leader in the Tammany Society, a

speculator in public lands, and a rich clothier who attracted General Washington's trade. Through Alexander Hamilton, who on his first arrival in America was a guest of his brother Hugh Mulligan, a member of the West Indian House of Lawrence Kortright (father-in-law of President Munroe), Hercules served Washington, who is said to have breakfasted with the Mulligans on Evacuation Day, November 25, 1783, possibly because he had been a confidential correspondent of Washington, whom according to tradition he warned of a plot against his life. A Mason and an Episcopalian, he was buried in Trinity Church Yard and left two sons: William, a distinguished lawyer, and John W., who on graduation from Columbia studied law in Hamilton's office, associated in land speculations with General von Steuben, shouldered a gun to defend New York in the War of 1812 though he was a Federalist, aided in founding the Irish Emigrant Society, served as a colonel in the militia, and became a surrogate judge in New York.[33]

James Lyons, an Episcopalian minister on Long Island, who had served in Derby and Waterbury (Connecticut), was characterized by the learned and famous Dr. Samuel Johnson as an able, covetous, hot-tempered parson who "made a trade of the Gospel."[34] Yet Irish-born parsons were to make a very decided contribution to American Anglicanism, though probably to a lesser extent than in the foundation of early Methodism. In 1760 Philip Embury, an exhorter who preached in both English and Gaelic, appeared with a group of Palatinates from Limerick and Tipperary where they had been planted by Queen Anne and converted to Methodism by Wesley and Thomas Walsh. Embury had slight success as a missioner until more Palatinates arrived, when he managed to gather a congregation and to found a Wesleyan Chapel (1768). Thus an Irish-born preacher of German blood established Methodism in New York City and later at Camden, Washington County.[35]

About 1758 William Gilliland (1734-1796), who came from Armagh as a British soldier, established himself as a teacher along with his brother James, who continued the school until the Revolution when he served in the rebel forces as a captain

a company of miners and sappers and was in the meantime made a freeman. While a tutor in the family of Phagan, a Jamaican merchant living in New York, William Gilliland with an eye to the future married his employer's daughter and was associated in the shipping business with his father-in-law. With the opening of Upper New York at the end of the French and Indian War, he patented tracts of land in the region between Crown Point and Ticonderoga estimated as high as sixty-thousand acres. Here he encouraged settlements and attracted a considerable number of Irish pioneers, especially Scotch-Irish Presbyterians from their American centres and from Ulster. While there was some doubt as to his patriotism in the Revolution, he maintained that he had raised a company of minute men in his effort to answer charges made against him. It must be remembered that men of property were naturally cautious and also that, in the drive for confiscated loyalist estates, charges were easily made. At any rate, Gilliland's properties suffered during the Burgoyne campaign, and he was virtually ruined—to the extent of even languishing in a debtor's prison for six years. In 1795 he lost the trail while he was wandering about in the Champlain Valley and died of exposure—leaving, however, an interesting diary dealing with the settlement of that extensive region.[36]

(To be continued)

RICHARD J. PURCELL

NOTES

[1] Jonathan Pearson, *Early Records of the City and County of Albany* (1869), 63, 68, 1, 245; Frederick J. Zwierlein, *Religion in New Netherland* (1910), 283; John T. Conlon, "The Beginnings of Catholicism in New Netherland," U.S. Catholic Historical Society, *Records and Studies* (1933), 171 f.; John D. Crimmins, *Irish-American Historical Miscellany* (1905), 27f.; *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society* (hereafter, *J.A.I.*) 6 (1906) 4, 8 (1909) 118, 9 (1910) 202, 26 (1927) 114, 27 (1928) 124.

[2] *J.A.I.*, 8 : 118, 122, 9 : 94, 14 : 238 from *Calendar of New York Colonial Mss.* (1864); John R. Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, II (1871) 366.

[3] *N.Y. Colonial Documents*, III, 218.

[4] *Ecclesiastical Records of New York*, XI, 830.

[5] H. L. Osgood, *American Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, II, 131.

[6] *Dictionary of American Biography* (*D.A.B.*) V, 364; Edward Channing's sketch in *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, 18 (1906), 336–345; J. H. Kennedy, *Thomas Dongan* (1930); Thomas P. Phelan, *Thomas Dongan* (1933); P. W. Browne, "Thomas Dongan" in STUDIES, Sept. 1934; E. B. O'Callaghan (ed.), *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of New York*, III, 372, IV, 284f. and *Documentary History*, III, 110; Vernon B. Hampton, *Staten Island's Claim to Fame* (1925), 30f.; J. J. Chute, *Annals of Staten Island* (1877), 58f.

[7] T. G. Bergen, *Register of Early Settlers of King's County* (1881), 221; E. M. Ruttenber. *History of the County of Orange and the City of Newburgh* (1875), 21; O'Callaghan, *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, I, 256.

[8] O'Callaghan, *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, I, 161.

[9] *D.A.B.*, IV, 419, 442, 459; O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to Col. Hist.*, IV, 851, 1187; C. K. Bolton, *Scotch-Irish Pioneers in Ulster and America* (1910), 269.

[10] N. P. Mead, "Growth of Religious Liberty in New York City," *Proceeding* of N. Y. State Hist. Soc. 17 (1919), 141–153; J. E. Watson, *Annals and Occurrences of N. Y. City and State in Olden Times*, 333; Ellis H. Roberts, *New York*, II (1887) 571; Benson J. Lossing, *The Empire State* (1887), 126; James Sullivan (ed.), *Hist. of New York State*, V (1927), 2138; Amasa J. Parker, *Landmarks of Albany County* (1897) 253f.; O'Callaghan, *Doc. Relative to Col. Hist.*, IV. 781.

[11] *J.A.I.*, 8 : 129, 9 : 201, 17 : 146f, 25 : 54, 26 : 91, 27 : 128f.; Crimmins, *op. cit.*, 33; J. Forbes (ed.) *Town Records of New Rochelle*, 46.

[12] For Irish teachers, R. J. Purcell, "Irish Cultural Contribution in Early New York" (with notes), *Catholic Educational Review*, Oct. 1937 and Jan. 1938.

[13] Joel Munsell, *Annals of Albany*, IV (1853), 148, 188, VII (1856) 69, 78; Parker, *op. cit.*, 386; F. M. Danaher, "Early Irish in Old Albany," in *J.A.I.*

[14] *J.A.I.*, 14 : 238f., from *Cal. N.Y. Col. MSS.* (1864).

[15] *J.A.I.* 27 : 105; O'Callaghan, *Doc. Relative to Col. Hist.*, V (1855), 556, 602.

[16] D. H. Bruce (ed.), *The Empire State in Three Centuries*, II (1905), 53; Samuel McKee, "Indentured Servitude in Colonial New York," N.Y. State Hist. Ass'n., *Quarterly Journal*, XII (1931); D. M. Schneider, *The History of Public Welfare in N.Y. State*, (1938), 82.

[17] *Burghers of New Amsterdam and the Freemen of New York in Collections* of the N.Y. Hist. Soc. (1885); *J.A.I.*, 26 : 90f.

[18] Crimmins, *op. cit.*, 66; *J.A.I.*, 17 : 153.

[19] Obituary notice in *N.Y. Journal and Weekly Register*, Dec. 3, 1789; *J.A.I.*, 25 : 54, 26 : 90f.; Smith, *New York in* 1789, 213.

[20] Crimmins, *op. cit.*, 61 from Bradford's *New York Gazette*.

[21] *D.A.B.*, V 465; *Biog. Directory of the Amer. Congress*, 922; M. J. O'Brien, *Hercules Mulligan* (1937), 46.

[22] *D.A.B.*, X 100, 124; O'Callaghan, *Doc. Relative to Col. Hist.* VIII, 813 n., and his *Doc. Hist.*, IV, 416; R. E. Day, *Calendar of Sir William Johnson MSS* (1909), 226, 481, 510; J. R. Simms, *History of Schoharie County* (1845), 136f.; *J.A.I.*, 4 : 63; Crimmins, *op. cit.*, 64f.

[23] W. H. Bennett, *Catholic Footsteps in Old New York* (1909), 250f.

[24] *J.A.I.*, 4 : 72f. There are also a few names in the *New York Marriages Colonial* published by the state in 1860.

[25] *J.A.I.*, 27 : 91, 144f. based largely upon the *New York Gazette;* Henry R. Stiles, *Hist. of the County of Kings and the City of Brooklyn* (1884) 410; Peter Ross, *Hist. of Long Island*, I (1902), 266f.

[26] *D.A.B.*, VII, 91; Paul L. Ford (ed.), *The Journals of Hugh Gaine* (2 vols., 1902); Smith, *New York in* 1789, 204; Michael J. O'Brien, *George Washington's Associations with the Irish* (1937), 88.

[27] *D.A.B.*, II, 383.

[28] *J.A.I.*, 7 : 65, IV, 65, 17 : 194f.; *D.A.B.*, X, 256f.; William Kent, *Memoirs and Letters of James Kent* (1898), 2.

[29] O'Brien in *J.A.I.*, 13 : 193–196, 14 : 258.

[30] *J.A.I.*, 8 : 129f., 14 : 255f., Crimmins, *op. cit.*, 95.

[31] Michael Kraus, *Intercolonial Aspects of American Culture on the Eve of the Revolution* (1928), 21, based upon the *Weekly Postboy*, Oct. 30, 1752, Sept. 24, 1753, Feb. 23, 1756; *J.A.I.*, 13 : 196, 15 : 385f.; W. A. Whitehead, *Early History of Perth Amboy* (1856) 282.

[32] Kraus, *op. cit.*, 67; Bennet, *op. cit.*, 249; Jonathan Greenleaf, *History of the Churches of N.Y.* 333.

[33] *J.A.I.*, 25 : 54, 27 : 151 quoting *New York Gazette*, May 6, 1771, May 29, 1780; sketch in *J.A.I.*, 26 : 96f.; Crimmins, *op. cit.*, 96; On the Mulligans all possible material is gathered in Michael J. O'Brien's *Hercules Mulligan, Confidential Correspondent of Geo. Washington* (1937) which for Hamilton materials depends upon George Shea, *Life and Epoch of Alexander Hamilton* (1880) also John C. Hamilton, *Life of Alexander Hamilton*, I, 8; and *Hist. of the Republic of the U. S. of Am. as traced in the Writings of Alex. Hamilton*, I (1864), 46.

[34] Thompson, *Hist. of Long Island*, I, 428; O'Callaghan, *Documents Relative to Col. Hist.*, VII, 396f.

[35] *J.A.I.*, 8 : 129f., 9 : 96; *D.A.B.*, VI, 125; S. P. Disoway, *Earliest Churches of New York City* (1864), 222f.; *Niles Register*, 27 (1825), 416; William Crook, *Ireland and the Centenary of American Methodism* (1868): L. F. Bittenger, *German Religious Life in Colonial Times* (1906), 97f.

[36] Smith, *Essex County*, 98f., 132f., 154; Winslow C. Watson, *Hist. of Essex County* (1869) indexes a number of references; Ruth Higgins, *op. cit.*, 91; W. G. Watson, *Pioneer Hist. of Champlain Valley* (1863); *J.A.I.*, 14 : 231f.

HE MAGINOT LINE: REALITY OR DREAM?*

BY COLONEL J. J. O'CONNELL, M.A.

A STORY is told of the Emperor Vespasian: that he, once upon a time, was consulted by a young man, o had inherited an enormous fortune, as to what he should with his unexpected wealth. "Use it," said the Emperor. nd when the youth protested that he did not know how: Well, then, said Vespasian, abuse it." So it was with the aginot Line.

This fortified system was the most complete and powerful er conceived—let alone constructed. Yet, at the collapse France, it passed, intact and almost undisputed, into the nds of the first attacker. This astonishing fact prompts any questions: Why did the mighty bulwark crumble ddenly, as if touched by a magician's wand? Could the saster have been averted? Was the whole great fortified stem merely a gigantic deception? Clearly these are estions which cannot be fully answered now—half-a-year ter the event, with the accountable war still raging and w sources that are not either prejudiced or propaganda. ut one thing we can be sure of—so tremendous an effect d not follow from an ephemeral cause. More was at the ot of it than flame-throwing tanks or dive-bombing aircraft. or do great armies go "down in disaster and woe" just ecause a general was captured or a bridge was left intact.

Any attempt to explain the downfall of the Maginot ine must naturally begin with a brief account of the Line's igins and character. And, first of all, as to the name. Sergeant" André Maginot did not design nor trace the Line imself. The former of these functions was performed by e Commission of Frontier Defences, the latter by General elhague. The Defence Commission was a board, presided

* *Maginot, of the Line.* By Pierre Belperron (Williams & Norgate. 1940. 3/6). *e Maginot Line: The Facts Revealed.* By A French Officer. (Duckworth. 1940. -).

over at first by Marshal Joffre and later by General Guillaumat, comprising victorious army commanders of 1914–18—Berthelot, Debeney, Degoutte, Maurin. General Belhague, the architect of the Line, was Inspector-General of Engineers and President of the Technical Committee of that scientific service. Who, then, was Maginot? He was a *grand blessé* of the former war—and a Lorrainer to boot. So he made the project of the Line his own; and got voted the huge credits required for building the system. Maginot came to the War Ministry on November 3, 1929. The project had received Ministerial approval on December 29, 1927. In other words, it had stagnated for nearly two years.[1]

The scheme provided for an entirely new and complete fortified system, covering the whole extent of the new common frontier with Germany and continued in rear of Luxemburg up to the region of Longwy. It bolted and barred the two main invasion-routes of the common frontier: the Rhine-valley, giving access to Strasbourg, the plain of Alsace, Belfort and Burgundy; and the Moselle valley, leading to Thionville, Metz and Nancy. The questions had been asked, whether so elaborate a system was needed and whether it was advisable to site it so near the frontier? Why not, instead, be content to modernise and reinforce the old Belfort-Epinal-Toul-Verdun line of great entrenched camps, which had proved its worth in the 1914–18 war?

Maginot's biographer provides the answer. Speaking of the older barrier he says:[2] "Between its forts and the new line of frontier was territory equivalent to four departments . . . This disposition had the very serious disadvantage of not covering the Lorraine basin and the plain of Alsace . . . particularly rich from the mineral, industrial and agricultural point of view. . . . Moreover, the regions thus open to invasion represented the great part of our reconquered provinces. . . . These economic and human considerations formed such potent arguments that the High Command . . . unanimously agreed to establish the line of defence on the frontier itself." Seeing that, in addition, the terrain

[1] Belperron: *Maginot, of the Line*, pp. 61 & 81. [2] Belperron: *op. cit.*, p. 77.

oining the frontier was in itself reasonably strong, it can initely be conceded that no other decision was possible. People wise after the event have said that the Maginot e, in its most perfect form, should have been continued along the Belgian frontier as far as the sea at Dunkerque. leed, France has almost been accused of obtaining an ance under false pretences, because this had not been e. But any such extension would have required much ger time to construct and correspondingly greater credits. d, already, the cost was frightening some people. Besides, s was not a common frontier with Germany, and the Belgium King Albert was an assured Ally. To put it mildly, it uld not have been a tactful way of initiating co-operation treat Belgium as merely a glacis for French fortifications. things considered, the system as decided on was good ough.

As to the nature of the works constructed, there attaches piquant interest to a lecture delivered in London on May h 1939 by General Weygand—in the course of which he d : " Once the line of the fortifications had been decided , the Commission had to make up its mind on the type works to be constructed. Discussion became heated and licate, because all the plans suggested had their good and d points. One day Marshal Pétain accompanied the mbers of the Commission to the terrain. ' Why do you nt to put an emplacement here ? ' he asked. ' To fire on h and such an objective.' ' Good ! In that case what pe of guns do you need and where do you want them put ? ' here, and there.' ' Good ! ' concluded Marshal Pétain, ut them in those positions in shell-proof emplacements d link them up by underground passages.' It is in this y that we have evolved our present system of fortifications, ich differ radically from earlier ones, since it is founded, t on a uniform system, but on the treatment of each ividual case as it arose."[1]

What finally took shape was a great chain of fortified rks, completely hidden under the ground and separated

[1] *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 1939, p. 463.

from one another by intervals that varied according to the natural features of the terrain. The major works were like the older type of forts in importance—but not detached. Between these principal works were constructions of various kinds : small blockhouses to meet local needs, fortified machine-gun posts, anti-tank mine-fields, demolition-zones, etc. Forward were barbed-wire entanglements on reverse slopes and special anti-tank obstacles. The principal works were protected against even the heaviest shells by concrete defences of enormous thickness. In its original form the Maginot Line was, in actual fact, a *line*—i.e. while very strong, it was single. But the various alarms since March 1936 had resulted in the further establishment of field-works, with the general effect of thickening it considerably.

Fortified works, however, constitute only one element of a defensive system. The works require to be garrisoned, and as regards the manning of them we cannot do better than again give the word to General Weygand : " One result of the building of all these fortifications has been the formation of special fortress troops. Had we not done this, we should have had to confine active divisions in ferro-concrete and would have been deprived of our best troops for open warfare. It would be a mistake to think that the existence of these fortress troops introduces an element of unwieldiness into our army. *On the contrary, they enable us to use the whole of our excellent standing frontier units either for defensive or offensive measures.*"[1] From this it will be seen that the broad, strategic principles envisaged originally for the utilisation or employment of the Maginot Line were sound. Like any other properly-used fortification it was intended as a pivot of manoeuvre—though on an altogether gigantic scale. But, as we shall see later, it was never used as a pivot of manoeuvre. From being merely a means to an end, the Line came to be regarded as an end in itself.

The attitude of mind depicted in the semi-official book *The Maginot Line* is significant in this regard. This small volume was published in England (Duckworth) shortly after

[1] *Foreign Affairs*, July-August 1939, p. 464.

ıe outbreak of war. The writer is "A French Officer" ıd the book was "authorised by the French War Office." :s fundamental character is a fixed idea envisaging an ttitude of purely passive defence. The book contains no ord or phrase connoting attack or even counter-attack. nbounded confidence in the strength of the works is shown, nd the appreciation of their prompt and skilful utilisation. n short, the purely material side is fully appreciated, but of ıe "divine fire" there is nowhere a trace.

From the day—in March 1936—when the Germans marched ıto the Rhineland, they began to organize that territory ith a view to possible offensive operations. Their earliest onstructional works were either aerodromes or autobahnen. he Siegfried Line (Westwall) only came a couple of years ıter—as the moves against Czechoslovakia and Poland took hape. But, to begin with, the Rhine valley from Freiburg o Crefeld was spaced off by great air-fields every fifty miles r so. Great motor-roads linked up these—jutting out also o Sarrebruck and Aix-la-Chapelle. Railways and bridges vere added to; and, generally, provision was made for the ree manoeuvre of great masses of men and material. The im was to secure freedom of choice as to the nature of the novement that might be initiated.

But all operations against a defensive front are reducible o two—this applies to the strongest as well as to the weakest. o overcome a fortified position, it must be either broken r turned. In practice the assailant will always turn, if he ıas a free choice: where the German is the assailant, this is xiomatic. The old French defensive barrier, Belfort-Epinal-oul-Verdun, had so impressed Schlieffen that in 1900 he lecided to turn it by marching across Belgium. Now, the Maginot Line was a far more formidable barrier than its ncestor; so that an attempt to turn it also was a certainty—lways assuming that the Germans had a free hand for that urpose.

It thus became a question of whether or no the French ould forestall the Germans and fetter the freedom of nanoeuvre which the latter were manifestly preparing. For

this purpose it was at least advisable to have meditated carefully the thoughts of Foch. There have been varying opinions of the Marshal as a strategist; and on him as a tactician adverse judgment has more than once been passed. But he possessed the mentality of a victor, and he had analysed the psychology of the initiative in a way all his own. The preparation of the main attack, he said, " doit lui (à l'adversaire) *interdire* les moyens et la faculté de préparer une manoeuvre de son côté ; pour cela l' immobiliser en le mettant dans l'impossibilité matérielle de rassembler une force suffisante pour l'opposer victorieusement à l'effort de l'attaque décisive ; dans ce but, entreprendre des *actions* sur l'ennemi."[1]

Now, it is important to grasp the fact that a defender may, by judicious action—by some offensive step of his own—succeed in wresting the initiative from an assailant. Owen Roe O'Neill did so at Benburb, as did Osman at Plevna. Lee was a past master of this strategic method. The question we are concerned with is, could the French have done this in September 1939 ? It is clear that, if they could compel the Germans to frontally attack them, the danger of outflanking would vanish *ipso facto*. Instead of choosing their own offensive direction, the Germans would then have to conform to the French designs—i.e. to a frontal attack that could scarcely have resulted in anything but failure and carnage. Here we are in the realm of speculation—for no such action was ever taken by the French. But this does not exempt us from the duty of examining whether such action was possible ?

If the French intended to secure the initiative along the lines indicated, it was imperative for them to attack—with overpowering strength at the precise point—some interest that Germany would have no choice but to defend, *sans esprit de recul*. In the case of a regime like the Hitlerian, with its great emphasis on German prestige, this was not difficult. German soil had not been trodden by a French invader—in actual combat—for well over a century. If, now, the French could secure a really important, if limited, footing

[1] *Les Principes de la Guerre*, p. 311,

in the Sarre and the Palatinate, only one course was thinkable for the Germans—an immediate, local counter-offensive to drive them out at all costs. So doing, they must inevitably play into the hands of the French. Of two things one: either the German counter-attacks broke down on their own soil; or the attacks succeeded in forcing back the French, with the following Germans brought up against the Maginot Line at a serious disadvantage.

The French had their head-lines in the Verdun and Malmaison battles of the Autumn of 1917. In these the underlying idea had been to concentrate an enormous mass of artillery against a short sector of front, pulverise by drum-fire to the requisite depth, occupy that belt with infantry, and beat off counter-attacks. In the two battles in question the sectors attacked were formidably strong, but the smashing was all cut and dried all the same. There was no *blitz* about this, admittedly; but there was plenty of *krieg*. To quote Ludendorff on Malmaison: "The losses were very serious; once more several divisions were destroyed." The problem was to bring the 1917 tactic into effect under 1939 conditions.

France had certainly available in 1939 material of a kind she did not possess twenty-two years before. She had, for instance, the howitzers constructed on the earlier occasion for crushing the Metz forts, but never employed. These flung a 21-inch shell of one and two-third tons to a distance of eleven miles. Then there were very many 30-ton tanks and a limited number of 70-ton break-through tanks; while of long-range railway artillery there was a plentiful supply. There was, further, the necessary skilled artillery and engineering personnel for the methodical application of the offensive method in question.

In the matter of suitable "limited objectives" there was almost an embarrassing choice. Taking the 1917 battles as a model, it was a matter of advancing to a depth of 4 or 5 miles on a front about twice as wide. Advances like that would have given the French possession of a number of points of quite exceptional importance. There was the entire Sarre valley to select from—Merzig; Sarrelouis, Marshal Ney's

birthplace; Sarrebruck itself, which was within rifle-range. Further East were places like Blieskastel, Zweibrucken and Pirmasens—" geographical objectives," certainly; but which connoted solid gains, capable of influencing the campaign in a wider way. All this whole basin of the Sarre was one maze of coal-fields, blast-furnaces, glass-works, chemical works. It had only been re-acquired by Germany in March 1935. Consequently it could not have been relinquished anew without being contested foot by foot. A resolute, concerted and methodical attack here automatically forced the hands of the German High Command.

When we examine the actual French moves of September 1939, we find them falling very far short of the comprehensive operation envisaged above. In effect all that was attempted was a rather half-hearted relief-offensive to somehow take pressure off Poland. Even this had its value; the Germans resisted: " Our forward elements, advancing across the frontier to a depth varying with the terrain, have encountered automatic arms and field-works at all points."[1] Later on, the German front was reinforced progressively; but, in spite of this, the French progression continued. Quite important tactical features—such as the Warndt Forest—were occupied. Commanders of leading French divisions showed much ingenuity in " smelling-out " the German traps—for example exploding mine-fields by a herd of swine driven ahead.

All the time, however, it seems to have been a case of front-line divisions making local advances—a sort of cordon advance. There was no schematised general attack, even of a limited objective character—no massed preparation of heavy artillery, no grand-scale deployment of tanks, no close-supporting " leap-frog " divisions ready to pass through. A spear-point by itself does not penetrate very deeply; it is the shaft, with the drive behind it, that gives dangerous efficacy to the thrust. So, too, the depth of tactical influence exerted by the French front-line divisions—thus left largely to their own resources—was bound to be strictly limited.

For all that, the aggregated local attacks had resulted,

[1] Communiqué No. 6, September 6, 1939.

during the first three weeks of September, in establishing—mainly well inside German territory—an outpost position in front of the Maginot Line proper. At certain points this outpost position afforded good ground-observation over parts of the Siegfried Line. It was such points—where continuous observation of artillery fire-effect was possible—that should have been continuously pounded by the heaviest guns available, as a prelude to heavy tank-attack with infantry following. There was no need for undue haste or unwarrantable risks. But it was imperative to maintain the advance uninterrupted, until a vain and costly reaction was imposed on the enemy.

In actual fact, nothing was further from the intentions of the French High Command than such a course. As German resistance thickened, far from seizing the opportunity of crushing it by drum-fire, French offensive velléités became ever less pronounced. As the Germans tentatively made small local attacks in no man's land, the French imperceptibly lapsed into a defensive attitude. This was not apparent at the time; but to-day—re-reading the communiqués of late September and early October in the light of what has taken place—it is clear enough.

Most illuminating of all were the events of October 16th, on which day the Germans delivered two attacks on a more comprehensive scale than any that had preceded them. The sectors in question —"East of the Moselle" and "East of the Sarre," respectively—were two where local French commanders had been rather more energetic and troublesome. The French, in effect, withdrew without seriously disputing the terrain: it was claimed that the advancing Germans had merely succeeded in "striking a blow in the air." At the time the event seemed strange. But it was clear that there had been nothing in the nature of a serious French defeat—physically, if not morally; and it was concluded that they should know their own business best. And yet the communiqué next morning contained damning admissions: "In anticipation of this resumption of the offensive by the Germans, the French Command decided over a fortnight ago to withdraw

to other positions those French divisions which, in order to indirectly assist the Polish armies, had taken the offensive into German territory. The totality of the movements necessary were terminated by October 3rd. Since then we have left in contact only a line of outposts with some units in support."[1]

This, we can see now, amounts to a self-condemnation of the French High Command. Quite obviously that Command had not formulated a definite—a moderate and unambitious, but at least practical—plan on the lines indicated in the present article. But it is further open to question whether they had any real plan at all—any strategical plan, that is to say. They had, of course, foreseen measures to meet possible lines of enemy action—as far as routine and mechanical things were concerned. France, in short, had plenty of military technicians and staff-officers—and the quality was high. But she had no *general*—or, at least, none fulfilling the requirements of Napoleon's dictum: "In war men are of small account—what really matters is *the man*." The most appropriate comment possible is contained in the words of Tacitus: "It was not so easy to pronounce what was the best course to adopt, as that the one actually adopted was the worst."

J. J. O'Connell

[1] Communiqué No. 87, October 17, 1939.

SOME IRISH BARDIC POEMS

EDITED BY LAMBERT MCKENNA, S.J.

LVI

Elegy on Brian Mág Shamhradháin, slain 1298 in an attack made on him by Aodh Bréifneach Ó Conchobhair and the Clann Muircheartaigh (Í Chonchobhair).

Tadhg mór Ó hUiginn cc.

1. A fir táinig fe tárg mBrian,
tugair mire fa mórchiaig ;
m'ucht ó rgeol an táirg ir teinn
mo dheor do fáirg óm inchinn.

2. Aithne ar a tárg tug mire
agus fe n-a innire ;
fát mo bar dteinn ir fé fin
do rgeinn mé ar got fairgin.

3. A fir tug dam damna déar,
rgaoilear tárg Brian ní bairdhrgéal ;
freagair cách créad a oigid
ní gnát éag gan fiarfoigid.

4. Mar do fiarfoig feacht oile
Mac Liag tárg Brian Bóruime,
cnead neime niam an fuigill,
Brian eile ir ead fiarfuigim.

5. Don glór a-deire, a duine,
foirbtéactaid na fáruige ;
diaid finneirgir n-a feor dug
don rgeol innirdir agus.

6. An rgéal deimnige damra
oic a fulang agamra ;
iomda déar gon rgoil don rgeol,
ar an rgéal ní foil áitcheod.

7. Adbur rgeanma na rgéala
tugair lat—lór d'aitméala ;
nom gab meirge don meadur
meirde dam a ndeimneagud.

8. Ir d'iongantaib innse fáil
Bruan mar innire d'aghái ;
ir truagh 'r ir doilig a dul
gan fluagh d'oigid n-a farrud.

9. Muna fríot gá cornum cat
créad tarraid Teallach nEachach ?
Bruan mac Donnchaid dion na gceall,
cá lion torchair n-a timcheall ?

10. Cáit an adhaigrin an uilc
i raibe lucht an longphuirt ?
an mórrlógh do-nim gach neach
do-cinn man rlóghmór roichleach.

11. Nir leigthe don muintir mór
dá dtabhrad uairle ir onóir
readhach rionnMuighe fadhair
gan iongnaise éanadaigh.

12. Ni léamhadh briodhba buain rir
mar do bádar dá mbeidir
cách dá gach leith do flaith Breagh
nír bheith nar mhaith a muintear.

13. Longphort i Eachach Uirnigh
—lionmar éacht an adhuigrin—
rob amhdaigh an lior ar laigh
d'fhaghbáil gan fior i n-argaid.

14. Cách ir each fa-dearna dáil
an t-olc fuaradar d'aghái
fa baile re huct an uilc
ni raibe lucht an longphuirt.

15. Ni chadladh gan chéadh n-a tigh
nó ni badh mhó do muintir
airgneach ruaigdear Beann mBoirche
gor mheall uaingear aonoidche.

16. Ag biudh ná ag dig tar an dáil
nír chleacht dó uaingear d'fhaghái
ag fhuaigh Duibe re n-a dul
nochon uair duine diultudh.

17. A dílriughudh ná a deicdhir
nír comhain re coimhigthiudh ;
nír dílrigh dáil dámh ndeorradh,
gach dál dáidh ro dílreoghadh.

18. Bhrian, a dheorradha an domhain,
dainimh dá bar ndeorodhaibh
feolach fluaigh do theacht fo teas ;
tearc uaidh deorradh do dhligfeadh.

19. Táinig doineann n-a dheaghaidh,
do-chuaidh iarsa a hinbearaibh ;
léir gach laoi ar an framhradh rin
do bhaoi adhbar gon aimrir.

20. Fada gach lá geimhridh gearr
dá mhuintir ó nach mairfeann ;
ir faide dhamhra ná dhóibh,
nírbh fhallra aige m'onóir.

21. Anaoibhinn dam fo-dheachta
i n-éagmhais m'fhir aoinleabtha ;
gairid liom lámh re hó gCuinn
'r a lámh fam chionn n-a cearcuill.

22. Ro badh gairid liomra ir leir
aonúir tarlam ir tairseir ;
truagh, a Dhé, 'r gan a dhul uaim
gan mo chur ir é i n-aonuaigh.

23. Dufran gan mo lorgadh lair
an oigidh fuair go bragmair ;
truagh nach faiba thall ar-tis
'r a carta ann n-a éigin.

24. An adhaigrin n-a farradh
fa-rior nocho riabhamar ;
do loirg roin mé tiar gom tig
Bhrian choir agus é i n-éigin.

25. An t-oic fuair re n-a agáil
ní thug air a iomgabáil ;
do féadfadh Bhrian gan bheith air,
do leig na diag ní dheachaidh.

26. Uru leir, fér docra dó
ná a dteicead—'r nír teic romp,
a bruair do fdairn eile ann,
an teine ir na hairm d'fulang.

27. Nír marbad d'arm Gaoideal ngeal
go bár Briain ir nír báidead,
nír loirg teine riam roime,
Brian eile bad earboige.

28. Díol Briain nó oigid nar fearr
fuair a lán d'uairlib Éireann;
fíor Gliad na faoiffiog gar fíog
Brian ar aoindíol 'r a n-urmór.

29. Do marbad Coibdac Caol breag
do loirgead i dtig teinead,
marbad Coibdaig ro bo cread
torcair le Labrad Loingread.

30. Eocaid Oirdeam uair n-a daig
ba fíog Mórmaoil meic Mongaig
blorgad ar a druaill go tuinn
man lorgad fuair i bfréamuinn.

31. Conuire i mbruidin Dá Derg
do doit re hAingceal n-airmdearg;
do brired geir bruidean mBreag,
an bruidean leir do loirgead.

32. Airc bruidne ar mbririud a gear
do fuair Cormac Con-loingear;
an bruidean nír bán a dat
far cuired ár na n-Ultaig.

33. Do gab Éilim gan falaid
teac ar fiacha fionnalaid;
dá addar gon gaoic fa gul
marbad an laoic 'r a lorgud.

34. Mac Earca an earrla leadair
Muircertaig mac Muiredaig
an teine már fíor do fuair
'n-a dá díol eile i n-éanuair.

35. Diarmaid mac Cearbaill na gcat
do coit le hAod n'Dub ndiomrac;
do marbad tuir tige Breag
ar Muig Line 'r do loirgead.

36. Brian mac Moire mor an gniom
do fuair oigid na n-airdrioġ;
teine n-a garrda do gab,
eire anma na n-earbad.

37. Do lairg an lucht do loirg teac
air an t-eangnam 'r an t-eineac;
tuir Banba mar do baoi ir-tig
damna guil ir caoi a cluinrin.

38. Ir beag orainn n-a farrad
na huilc eile fuaramar;
gac earbaid dar bean riam rinn
go Brian nocan ead áirmim.

39. Act muna fuil ag Dia dam
éirġe n-a diaid do déanam
ni éir mé do eadar ar
leagad mar é ni fuarar.

40. Tar gac dtuirlead tugad dam
gur a-niug do-ninn readrad;
dioł Briain ógra lánoic leam
ádhocht n-a diaid ni dingneam.

41. Ni rac d'iarraid neic a-noir
a Coimde crédo ma racmoir;
reoid na rluaġra gá dám dáil
a rlán uamra dá n-éadáil.

42. Ni beinn gan éadáil d'aġáil
dá mairead Mág Amradáin;
ceannra Dé go brażа an fear,
cara mar é ni fuigead.

43. Ar éir dioła mo dána
ir [ordhuigte] m'éadála
ionmain cáċ do canad ruinn
ag rgaradh cá trát tiocfuinn.

44. Nír éar dúine re n a dúl
dodraide a dúl don traogul ;
dámad ead fo bad buan Bríain
an fear man-uar níro ainfial.

45. Teac Bríain do brír mo croide,
teac mar teac mBríain Bóraimhe,
teac 'n-ar gairid ramhlá rín
nac maired ramhná ir raifir.

A fir

Translation

1. O thou who hast come with the bad news of Brian, thou hast overwhelmed me with gloom ; sore is my breast at the sad tidings ; it has pressed out tears from my brain.

2. I saw thou hadst bad news of him before thou didst tell it ; I fainted when I saw thee ; hence too my palms are sore.

3. O thou who hast given me this cause for tears,—'tis no mere raven's croaking that tells of Brian's death—tell (us) all what death he died ; death ever provokes inquiry.

4. As of yore Mac Liag asked about the death of Brian Bóroimhe, 'tis of a second Brian I now inquire ; the beauty of the name is a bitter wound.

5. The word thou tellest, my friend, makes the plains freeze over, the fair hill will sink to be soft grass when it hears the event thou tellest.

6. The news thou announcest, I can hardly bear to listen to ; the news makes all poets weep bitterly and it can not be gainsaid.

7. The news thou bringest us is alas ! enough to shock us ; I feel distraught at the word, and I dread to hear the evidence for it.

8. Your story of Brian's capture is one of the marvels of Inis Fáil ; most sad, most terrible was his death without his troops falling beside him.

9. No troop was there to defend him ; what had come over Teallach nEachach ? Brian Donnchadh's son, defender of churches—how many fell with him ?

10. On that night of woe, where were the camp-folk ? Those whom I used to see guarding the joyous lord of great hosts—am I to think they were too numerous ?

11. His many folk, to whom he used to give honour and regard, should not have left unguarded for a single night the Hawk of fair Magh Fobhair.

12. Had they been—as they used to be—all guarding the Prince of Breagha on every side, no foe had dared to touch him, and it would not have to be said that his retinue was useless.

13. It seemed little likely that the fort where he lay, the camp of the scion of Eochaid of Uisneach, could be taken unprepared and undefended ; yet terrible the disaster that befell that night !

14. What brought the disaster on all men was that the garrison stayed not at home ready for attack.

15. Beann Boirche's impetuous Raider never slept without a hundred of his folk—no more—in the house, until a desire to be by himself for one night overcame him

Not at time of food or of drink any more than of council did any man get refusal from him while he lived; 'twas not for that (*i.e.* escaping importunity) the Prince of the Dubh used to seek seclusion.

Strangers could not recall being disowned or being objected to by him (?); he never disowned a gathering of (even) outland poets, he would have surrendered all things to them (?)

To all mercenaries I say: "A disgrace to your hirelings is that a (foe's) troop should have come against Brian's castle; few the men among you he should have hired!

On his death storm arose, and fish left river-mouths; it showed daily in the (coldness of the) Summer; good cause for show of grief had the weather.

The short Winter-day seems long to his folk now that he is gone; still longer does it seem to me; for, while he lived, my honour was assured.

Misery it shall be for me henceforth to be without my bed-fellow; too short seemed my time with Conn's scion, his arm a pillow for my head.

Too swift in its coming did he and I feel the day when we should both be beneath the clay! Alas, O God, that he and I are not buried together so that he might not leave me!

Sad for me I was not consumed with him that night so that I might have died in his death; Alas that I was not at home with him when he was brought into sore strait.

Alas that I was not with him that night; 'twas torture for me to be in the West in my house while Brian was in peril in the East.

Danger before it fell never induced him to avoid it; he could have avoided the fire but he shirked it not.

All the fires and blades he faced in other fights—he preferred to face them, though they cost him more than flight would have cost him, and he never fled from them.

Never was slain by a Gaoidheal's bright sword, never was drowned, no fire ever consumed, a Brian whose death was sorer loss than (this) Brian's death.

A death as cruel as Brian's, or a worse one, was suffered by many nobles of Éire, but Brian's death was a loss equal to that of all the noble kings our folk know of.

Graceful Cobhthach Caol of the Breagha was slain, burned in a house set on fire—terrible death! He was slain by Labhradh Loingseach.

Attacked in his house by the host of Mórmhaol son of Mongach, Eochaidh Oireamh was dashed (?), he and his armour, to earth (?) in the burning he suffered at Fréamha.

Conuire fell in Bruidhean Dá Bhearg at the hand of red-sworded Aingceal, by whom was burned the hostel; thus was violated the privilege of Breagha's hostels.

Cormac Conloingeas also suffered strait in the hostel when its privilege was violated; not white its colour when the Ulaidh were slain around it!

Blameless Éilim captured the house of Fiacha Fionnolaidh; the wind had two reasons for lamenting that hero, his death and his burning.

Muircheartach son of Muireadhach and Earc, noble of flowing hair, suffered a burning fierce enough to destroy (?) both him and two others with him.

Diarmuid, son of battling Cearbhall, was slain by dark proud Aodh; that hero of the Breagha's House was slain and burned on Magh Line.

Brian, Mór's son, was slain as those other high-kings—dread fate! Fire seized on him in his own court; each telling of these losses is an affliction.

37. The folk who burned that house on him gave a deadly blow to Gallantry and Generosity; the story of Banbha's hero in that house causes grief and desolation.

38. Compared with that grief, small are all the other disasters that have befallen us; not worth mention are all the losses that befell us up to Brian's death.

39. Except God help me to rise hereafter, I shall never rise again, I feel; no fall like this have I ever experienced.

40. In spite of all the falls I got I was ever gay till today; the loss of such a man as Brian means utter ruin for me, I can never be joyous again.

41. I will never go—O Lord, why should I?—seeking wealth; I bid farewell to all the treasures of men.

42. Had Mág Shamhradháin lived, I should have been growing rich; may that hero get gentle treatment from God; never shall I have a friend like him.

43. How happy I used to be with folk who, after buying my poetry and arranging for my remuneration, used to ask me at my departure when I should return!

44. Brian all his life long never refused any man—that makes his death the harder for me. No mean hero was he; had he been one, he would have lived longer!

45. It breaks my heart to think that Brian's household exists no longer, a household like that of Brian Bóroimhe, noble men and noble ladies, among whom Summer-day passed too quickly.

NOTES

1*a*. ꝑı *b*. -cıaıꝺ *c*. ꝺenꝺ *d*. -ċenn 2*a*. aıċne; ċuȝ *c*. ꝑaıꝺ; ır e ꝑın *d*. aırȝın 3*a*. ċuȝ *d*. -ꝑoıȝı 4*a*. -ꝑoıȝ *d*. ır (overlined) ꝑı. 5*b*. -ꝑėeoċꝺaıꝺ *d*. -cıp 6*b*. ulanȝ *c*. ap a rȝ.; aıceoꝺ 7*d*. nemneȝuꝺ 8*d*. appuꝺ 10*a*. aȝaıȝrıń *cd*. ꝺamın: ꝺaċınꝺ 11*a*. lecꝺı *b*. ꝺaƀraꝺ 12*b*. meꝺır *c*. ꝺo ȝaċ; *leg*. ƀr.? *d*. ƀeċ 13*a*. -ꝑoրꝺ *c*. ꝑab; a lıp 14*a*. baꝺeꝑa *c*. ꝑı huċꝺ *d*. -ꝑuıꝑꝺ 16*a*. naȝ ꝺıȝ ꝺap *b* cl.; -ıuꝑ 17*a*. na ꝺeꝺꝑıꝑ *b*. ꝑı comeċꝺıƀ *c*. ꝺaıṁ ꝺeoꝑaꝺ *d*. ꝺaıl; *leg* ꝺo? 18*b*. ꝺo; neoꝑoȝaıƀ (?) *d*. ꝺeap 19*c*. ap a ꝑ. 20*d*. alꝑa 21*b*. -ꝑċa *c*. ꝑı ho cu. 22*c*. ꝺe oꝑ (dot under o) ȝaꝺul 23*a*. -ꝑann *b*. ꝑaȝ. *c*. -ꝺaıȝ 24*b*. maꝑıꝑ *d*. ⁊ ꝑe 25*c*. euꝑaꝺ *d*. ꝺıaꝺ 26*b*. na ꝺeċ. *c*. ꝑu. *d*. ꝺulanȝ 27*d*. oıle; earꝑoıȝe 28*c*. ꝑaeꝑıȝ *d*. -ꝺıl 29*a*. ċo. *b*. ċ of ċeıneaꝺ not clear *c*. ċ of ċoƀ. not clear *d*. -ꝑaıꝺ 30*cd*. *leg*. ꝺo barȝaꝺ n-a ċꝑ.: laꝑȝaꝺ, "was shackled to the earth in his harness . . ."? *d*. uaıꝑ 31*c*. ƀuıꝺean (?) 32*a*. *leg*. ƀꝑuı.?; ƀꝑıꝑ. *d*. nullꝺaċ 33*b*. ꝑıaċo *d*. ıllaıċ 34*d*. ꝑna ꝺa ꝺıl 35*b*. la haeꝺ; nımꝑaċ 36*a*. ȝım *c*. ȝaꝑꝑa ꝺa ȝaƀ *d*. neꝑƀaꝺ 37*a*. a luċꝺ *c*. ıroıȝ 38*b*. uılc; ꝑu. *d*. noċneaꝺ 39*a*. ƀuıl *b*. ꝺı. 40*a*. ꝺuıꝑ. 42*c*. ꝑaȝa 43*b*. oꝑꝑꝺaıȝe 44*b*. ꝺoċaıꝺı; ꝑa.

NEW ZEALAND AND IRELAND: A PARALLEL STUDY

BY PROFESSOR GEORGE O'BRIEN, D.LITT.

STUDENTS of Irish economic problems can learn many lessons by a study of the recent history of New Zealand. The literature on the economic life of New Zealand is voluminous, but all that is necessary for an intelligent understanding of the main issues involved can be gathered from Professor Hancock's *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs*, volume II, Part I.[1] The first volume of this remarkable survey discussed Irish affairs at length; the present instalment of the second volume, entitled *Problems of Economic Policy 1918–1939*, deals with the economic history of Great Britain and the Dominions (excluding South Africa and India) between the two great wars.

In Professor Hancock's fertile and suggestive book the economic history of the British Commonwealth of Nations is surveyed from an entirely original angle with the most interesting results. The first British Empire broke down because the economic frontiers of America were out of scale with its political frontiers. The second British Empire was erected on the free trade doctrines of Adam Smith, who "saw the dynamic nature of individual activities which lay altogether outside the field of politics and perceived that these activities were part of a network which spread across the political frontiers. The economic society which he described was not co-extensive with this sovereignty or that. It was 'The Great Commercial Republic'." This ideal, however, was never fully realized in practice even within the confines of the British Empire. The "autonomous nations" which were to develop into the Dominions practised protection and imperial preference throughout the nineteenth century, and even in Great Britain the Manchester School, which stood for free trade, was fighting a losing battle with the "Birmingham School" (so aptly entitled by Professor Hancock), which won a great measure of popular support when "the precarious unity of liberal civilization was split by the Great War." During the war the "economics of siege" were favourable to the growth of new mercantilism, and in the post-war years Great Britain made "a half-hearted, indecisive retreat from the Great Commercial Republic into the shell of her own empire."

The principal turning-point in the economic history of the inter-war period was the great depression of 1929. One of the consequences of this event was the fall in the price of agricultural products to which we shall return. Another consequence was the abandonment of free trade by Great Britain, which greatly extended the possibility of developing a self-contained empire united by imperial preference. These possi-

[1] Oxford University Press, 1940, 15s.

bilities were exploited at Ottawa, where a number of agreements were made, which constituted " an important landmark on the road which was leading the world away from the Great Commercial Republic of the nineteenth century towards a future of separate and opposed constellations." The Ottawa agreements did nothing to stem the tide of political separatism recognized by the Statute of Westminster; they proved to be instruments of national rather than of imperial shelter, and they led to great difficulties in the disposal of surplus products in the world outside the Empire. The result was that, " within six years from the Ottawa Conference, all the nations of the Commonwealth were ready to exchange some of these new exclusive advantages for the wider advantages of impartial world trade. It was this readiness which made possible the trade agreements of 1938 with the United States." The illusion of a self-sufficient empire was shattered by the lessons of the years following the Ottawa agreements, the results of which are totally incommensurate with those which were expected. " Experience taught the Governments of the Empire that the Empire was insufficient for their trading needs, not because their productive energies were weak but because they were strong." If the war had not broken out, there would certainly have been a further revision of the disappointing policy of " Imperial self-sufficiency."

Assuming that this development had taken place, the wider world order that would have emerged would not have been the Great Commercial Republic of Adam Smith's theory and of nineteenth century experience, " the mobile world-wide society of migration and commerce and investment which free economic enterprise had fashioned." That society had been built up on the classical theory of international trade which postulated a single market price and the localization of production in accordance with the principle of comparative cost. Long before the onset of the great depression of 1929 industrial protection in the new world and agricultural protection in the old had challenged the supremacy of the rule of comparative cost, and even within the Empire the Dominions had increasingly modified the rules of economic adjustment under which they had grown. The technical advances of the post-war world had made the establishment of protected industries easier, while at the same time the ideal of self-sufficiency, inherited from the years of the " economics of siege," had been winning widespread acceptance. After the depression, with the deterioration of the international situation for which the depression itself was largely responsible, the totalitarian States broke wholly away from the Great Commercial Republic for the purpose of rearmament and preparation for war. " The economics of siege were becoming a part of everyday life. Under this lowering dispensation, the signals of price and comparative cost were ceasing to regulate the world's economic traffic."

In other countries less belligerently inclined, an attempt to break away from the international cost-price system was based on grounds not of defence but of welfare and social justice. The great fall of the prices of agricultural products and raw materials, "the most significant feature of the past decade," which was itself to some extent the result of the policies of autarky and armament in Europe, plunged farmers in the Dominions into bankruptcy and despair. The price system and, in particular, the monetary system, about which no complaints were heard so long as prices were rising, were assailed on all sides as being the cause of all the evils which had overtaken agriculture. Appeals were made from the reign of market prices to "just" prices which would secure a certain minimum of comfort for producers. The tension between the economics of wealth and the politics of welfare was responsible for the experiments in New Zealand, which, after much wandering, we have at last reached.

New Zealand had developed very rapidly during the period when production and trade were mainly regulated by the law of comparative cost. "Nineteenth century theories had fitted nineteenth century facts. Comparative costs were the reality which drove the New World frontiers forward." It was the demand of the outside world for New Zealand's meat and butter and wool which had enabled the country to make such rapid progress. The general trend of prices from 1890 to 1930—coinciding, as it did, with technical advances in refrigeration, transport and farming methods—enabled New Zealand farmers to expand their production at continuously rising profits. There had been since the end of the last century a well-defined tradition of advanced social services for urban workers in the Dominion, but these services could be comfortably afforded so long as the agricultural export trade encountered no set-back. The collapse of export prices "instantly transmitted the world slump to New Zealand and shook her whole economic structure." The immediate crisis was treated by the orthodox remedy of a severe deflation of the cost structure together with the more untried but less painful remedy of the depreciation of the New Zealand pound. The patient was cured, but the treatment was resented as being unnecessarily unpleasant, and the question was asked why the country could not be insulated from a world which was liable to such violent fluctuations of prosperity and depression. It was while public opinion was in this receptive mood that the Labour Party undertook the experiments in welfare legislation from which Ireland may possibly learn some useful lessons.

The policy of the Labour Party, which was declared to be "to bring happiness and prosperity to all," reached its climax in the Social Security Bill of 1938 which placed New Zealand in the forefront of welfare-distributing nations. By a series of earlier Acts wages had

been raised and hours reduced in the cities, and the needs of agricultural labourers had been provided for by legislation. Urban employers had been compensated by means of protection for the additional cost of labour which the welfare policy involved, and some similar relief had to be granted to the employers of agricultural labour. This took the form of promising farmers a fair price for their products. Farmers, however, were producing for export, and the problem was how to shelter them from the fluctuations of prices in the outside world. In respect of dairy products the Government attempted a policy of price " equalization," in defiance of the recommendations of a commission of experts. The precise meaning of " equalization " was nowhere defined : it might have the strictly economic meaning of the ironing out of price fluctuations over a period of years, or it might have the ethical or social meaning of the ironing out of social inequality. Farmers wanted to have it both ways. When prices were good, they wanted the whole price and were not willing to pay anything into a price-insurance fund to equalize prices in bad years ; but when prices were bad, they wanted a subsidized standard-of-living price provided out of public funds. The acceptance of such an interpretation would have led to the abandonment of the whole cost and price signalling apparatus for which New Zealand was certainly not prepared.

In order to make up for the deterioration of the export market, a policy of industrialization was attempted. Great stress was laid on the need for efficiency in the protected industries in order to prevent costs rising against primary producers, and a Bureau of Industry was established to see that efficiency was secured. The selection of the industries most favourable for encouragement was hampered by the obligations to Great Britain in the Ottawa agreements, and recourse was had to the licensing of imports under the plan of exchange control which had become necessary owing to the depletion of the external reserves. In spite of all precautions, prices rose, and the Government soon found itself faced with difficult problems of its own creation. An insufficient appreciation of the discrepancies between the ends desired and the means available for their realization led to numerous contradictions and inconsistencies of policy which had to be resolved.

The ambitious programme of expenditure on social services and public works rapidly outran the capacity of the taxpayers and of domestic lenders. In order to bridge the gap the Government borrowed from the Reserve Bank. The result of the activity generated by public expenditure was the stimulation of imports without any corresponding stimulation of exports. The depletion of the London funds, which shrank from £46,000,000 in 1935 to £12,000,000 in 1939, led to the imposition of exchange control to conserve the means of meeting the country's obligations and of financing essential imports. The conse-

ent reduction of imports retarded the policy of industrial development which required imported plant, and was inconsistent with the duction of unemployment which involved the importation of raw aterials. The rise in the standard of living was frustrated by rising sts. By the middle of 1939 the situation had reached a point when became necessary for the Minister of Finance to go to London in arch of credits in spite of the Government's election promises to oid external borrowing and to reduce the volume of overseas debt. he credits were granted on rather onerous terms, which reflected the termination of the British financial authorities to use their power over eir borrowers to insist on orthodoxy in Dominion finances. This ansaction proves that any country which has to borrow in the London arket may have to comply with the wishes of the Bank of England. New Zealand had been a creditor nation, the Government could have apped its fingers at the Bank of England and could have pursued its travagant course unchecked as long as it did not exhaust its overseas sets.

The parallel between the course of events in New Zealand and in ire must have already become apparent. The three *disequilibria* to hich attention has been drawn—in the budget, in the balance of ayments and in the cost-price ratio—are precisely those of which the anking Commission observed the incipient symptoms in Éire. Professor Hancock is impressed by the similarity of the experience in the wo countries. Both wanted a better balance between agriculture and dustry, partly with the object of providing increased employment. oth depended for their exports basically on the production of their rass-lands, and both depended on Great Britain as the chief purchaser f their grass-land products. Both possessed narrow home markets nd found it difficult to develop secondary industries without raising he cost of production and the cost of living. Both hurried forward owards self-sufficiency, in neither case with any great success. But, in ther respects, the circumstances of the two countries were very issimilar. New Zealand benefited by preferential treatment in the British market; whereas Éire, in the throes of the economic war, was eing treated in that market as the least-favoured-nation. Moreover, s Professor Hancock observes, the Irish were "driven by an ancestral olitical aspiration and an economic dogmatism of which the New ealanders had no conception." The most important difference was hat Éire was a creditor nation. "New Zealand was a debtor country; he had to watch the barometer of her net assets in London; their ovement would govern the pace of her experiment. Éire's strong reditor position cushioned her against the immediate rebound of her wn errors, and gave her a comfortable margin of time in which she night attempt to shift the balance of her economy." As a result of

the drive towards self-sufficiency, complicated by the difficulties of the economic war, the Irish creditor position was slightly weakened, but only slightly, and the country never approached the stage when it had to seek credits abroad and accept in consequence the conditions dictated by an external financial authority.

The experience of New Zealand provides many lessons for Ireland. One lesson is that an exporting country cannot insulate itself from the direct repercussion of a rise or fall of the prices which its exports command. Another lesson is that a country endowed by nature with a narrow variety of resources cannot pursue the ideal of self-sufficiency very far except at disproportionate cost. Another lesson is that an internal expansion sooner or later exerts an unfavourable pressure on the balance of payments, which, in the case of a debtor country, checks the expansion. Another lesson is that the capacity for economic experimentation depends upon the possession of external assets which endow the country with financial independence. It may be well, in view of the confusion which exists in popular discussion, to attempt to clarify the meaning of the terms dependence and independence in their economic context. When Professor Hancock states that "New Zealand, like Éire, still remained dependent on the British market," he does not imply that dependence involves servitude or oppression. In a commercial society every business man is dependent upon his customers for his prosperity, and the relation between trading nations is a precisely similar mutual dependence. As Professor Belshaw puts it:— "Every economy is 'dependent' in that it is liable to disturbance through its commercial and financial connexions with the outside world, but the following criteria are important for indicating degrees of dependence: (1) proportion of external to internal trade, (2) proportion of agricultural and raw material production in export trade, (3) net annual amount of fixed overseas obligations, (4) net annual amount of overseas borrowings. By all these tests, New Zealand's economy is in high degree a dependent one, and she must be correspondingly sensitive to disturbance from outside."

In comparison with New Zealand, Éire is far less dependent. Measured by the first and second tests the economic system of Éire is highly dependent; but, measured by the third and fourth, it is very independent. The importance of the status of a creditor nation as a weapon of financial independence cannot be exaggerated. One final lesson which the experience of New Zealand suggests is that prosperity as well as depression can be transmitted from the outside world. The rising European demand for wool, butter and meat was the dynamic factor that caused the progress of the Dominion, which made the correct response by exploiting its natural resources with the utmost intelligence.

GEORGE O'BRIEN

REVIEWS

Religion

WE WOULD SEE JESUS. By Rev. M. F. Egan, S.J. Dublin: M. H. Gill. 1940. 2s. 6d.

THIS little unpretentious-looking book takes its title from the words of the Gentiles who approached Philip and said: "Sir, we would see Jesus." They wanted to get an introduction to the Master, to speak to Him. Fr. Egan's book is a genuine introduction to the Master, and everyone who reads it will come to know Him better. It consists of fourteen meditations on Our Lord: on the stages of His life, on His virtues, His offices, His spirit and character. There is a disarming absence of the parade of scholarship in these pages; there are no references or notes or bibliography. But it is the display that is absent, not the learning; and one cannot read a paragraph without realising that the texture and fulness of the thought could come only from a mind nourished on the Scripture and Catholic theology. But meditation and prayer also went to the making of the book.

These meditations really help us to see Jesus. They are full of thought and insight and suggestiveness. Here is a spiritual book which is simple, solid and devotional, and yet personal and fresh and unwritten in a charmingly easy and limpid style. Fr. Egan is strongly attracted to the mystery of Christ—the union of the Divine and human. He really does introduce us to the *man* Christ. In the first meditation he shows finely how Christ, though endowed with the Beatific Vision and with infused knowledge appropriate to His dignity, really advanced in wisdom with the unfolding and development of His human powers. And he points out how in this development the influence of His Mother must have been very great. There is no aspect of Christ's life or character touched on in these meditations which is not put in a fresh and personal light. The study of Christ's prayer is very helpful and encouraging. The meditations on the Temptation and the Baptism are quite illuminating. The chapter on Faith and the Resurrection might be taken as a good sample of Fr. Egan's style and method of treatment. It is a beautiful study of the way in which the Risen Christ dealt with His apostles, how He excited Faith in His Resurrection before He granted them the vision of Himself showing that the last of the beatitudes, spoken to St. Thomas, "Blessed are they who have not seen and have believed," is the rule of His dealing with all men.

The meditations are evidently written with great ease; they are the outpouring of a rich spiritual mind and experience; they are drawn from a full cask. It is to be devoutly wished that more of "the good wine" will be forthcoming. At this time many spiritual books are being published; but not many of them have these qualities of devotion, insight, and freshness of treatment that are evident on every page of Fr. Egan's work.

H. K.

THE MYSTICAL THEOLOGY OF SAINT BERNARD. By Etienne Gilson, Professor at the College de France. Translated by A. H. C. Downes. London: Sheed & Ward. 1940. 10s. 6d.

In his preface Professor Gilson sets out the scope of this very important work as follows: "It is concerned neither with the life of St. Bernard, nor with his theology at large, nor even integrally with his mysticism: but with that part only of his theology on which his mysticism rests." Seen from this angle the book is complete and scholarly, a splendid source book for the student of St. Bernard's thought; it is rich beyond the dreams of bookish avarice in texts and references. It would be an impertinence on my part to criticise, from the textual or technical side, the work of so great a mediaevalist as Professor Gilson. One can only accept gratefully the fruit of his industry and critical acumen.

Whether the structure he has erected with the materials he has collected is sound, is another matter. We may see difficulties here without undue presumption. Has Professor Gilson been too systematic in his inferences from the texts he has assembled? We have a long text from St. Bernard's *De Gradibus Humilitatis* (given on page 99 *et seq.*) with commentary and interpretation in the footnotes. It is dense with allegory and metaphor. The interpretation, as might be expected, is very learned and ingenious. But is it correct? This sort of text is full of meaning for those to whom it was addressed, those who had some similar experience, but not for the profane, the philosopher or scholar who had not "entered the Cloud." Was the "Somnus Mysticus" the same as "Ecstasy" or a different state? Valgornera, Scaramelli, Schram—all the great compilers of tomes of Mystical Theology classify and divide mystical states on grounds of these texts of the great mystics, and there is any amount of divergent opinions. Hence my doubts; but they do not interfere with my very sincere admiration for this present work of the great scholar that M. Gilson is.

John Howley

SKETCHES AND STUDIES IN THEOLOGY. By the late Dom Anscar Vonier, O.S.B., Abbot of Buckfast. With Foreword by His Grace The Archbishop of Liverpool. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1940. Pp. 212. 7s. 6d.

It is perhaps one of the keenest joys in reading to happen on a book by a master-hand which states in clear language what the reader has deeply but vaguely felt, which expresses with power what he himself could never express, yet cannot all conceal. In this latest book of Abbot Vonier—which, alas, must be his last—such a joy awaits the reader who feels that our exposition of Christianity is far too negative, that our moral skyscrapers (or cabins) rest only too often on the bog of sentiment rather than on the rock of dogma, and that our apathy

wards the Liturgy is sometimes little short of appalling. "All hristian sanctity must be positive faith in God, with all its intellectual nd dogmatic wealth." In this latest book of collected essays Abbot onier, in his clear Conradian English, pens a fitting epilogue to his fe-long work in exposing that faith.

A third of the book is devoted to the Eucharist. Those who have ad his *Key to the Doctrine of the Eucharist* will meet again many of is favourite ideas. In his courteous appraisal of Abbé Lepin's *L'Idée u Sacrifice de la Messe* will be found much to console those who have ondered at the conflicting opinions of theologians on the nature of he sacrifice of the Mass. "Recent theologians, when harping on the nultiplicity of conflicting opinions in so sacred a matter, are doing the atholic cause real harm and sin through a lack of proportion in ppreciating things. . . . . They have succeeded in creating the mpression that, before their day and before their own pet theory, onfusion reigned everywhere supreme."

One of the most valuable essays in the collection, though one of he slightest, is *The Man who sings a Hymn to God.* In it a fine parallel s drawn between the marauding barbarians of the Middle Ages and he "civilised" barbarian of to-day, the modern humanist. And how haritably, yet how firmly, the Abbot nods his head at the good pagan's ailure! The genesis of the essay is not given, but one suspects that it was spoken as a domestic exhortation to his brethren of Buckfast. It is of no less interest to the *domestici fidei* in God's greater monastery, the Church. This, and others of the essays, will console us in these depressing days when "one ought to understand that evil can only be a transient phase, a mere phenomenon of externality in a race whose very core is the Second Person of the Trinity."

Abbot Vonier would be the last to claim that this book is a panacea for all the evils we have enumerated—he was no quack. But he was a skilled practitioner in the health of the soul. And his mixture will start many souls on the road to sane sanctity. Our one fear is that the label on his bottle will frighten some timid souls who would benefit by its contents. Theology there is and in plenty. But there is asceticism, too, and liturgy and devotion, and history and humour. And all compounded by the hand of one whose motto was *Pax* and whose mind was open to everything that was human. *Tolle, bibe! Tolle, bibe!*

D. O'S.

THE LOVE OF GOD. An Essay in Analysis. By Dom Aelred Graham, Monk of Ampleforth. London: Longmans. 1939. 7s. 6d. net.

When I saw this book called a masterpiece in the *Clergy Review* and saw in a note to its preface that its author claimed to have gone through

the whole of the *Summa* in his student days at Oxford, my "mens" began to bristle! Rather a tall order, I thought; but I sheathed my scalping knife eftsoon. This is a really fine work and worthy of all praise. Directors of Study Circles will find it invaluable as a manual, full of meat, clear in exposition, prudent and moderate on all disputed questions. Dom Aelred knows how to talk to the Catholic youth who would wish to know the "Reason Why" of religion, not merely as a system of thought but as a scheme of action, a plan of life. To read his book is a liberal education in practical piety. Why do so many of our young people fall away when they go abroad "in partibus infidelium"? They find the practice of religion "irksome and difficult" and they lack the understanding of their pious practices. That lack of understanding is the Meuse gap in their souls! This book will help to block that gap. I think, too, that the busy priest will find it a grand source-book for his talks to sodalities, etc.; for Dom Aelred has packed an incredible amount of ascetico-mystical theology into 250 pp. His book is full of that "sapida scientia," the wisdom which makes the most solid form of spiritual reading; it is a wonderful compendium of that knowledge of God and the Self so needful in these dreadful days—and a grand persuasive to intelligent piety. A book to buy, keep, read and meditate, a golden manual!

JOHN HOWLEY

Biography

SALAZAR. By Antonio Ferro. London: Faber and Faber. 1939. 8s. 6d. net.

SALAZAR is probably the greatest political thinker now living; perhaps also the greatest statesman. Unless we accept as the criterion of greatness the size of the stage on which a man acts or the splendour of the scenes and properties, we need not hesitate about this judgment. The political theatre where he plays his part is small and modest compared to those where many rivals strut and fret their little hour. But his achievement, tested by any sane standard, is, to say the least of it, not less than theirs. He has been building up, while they have been chiefly employed in knocking down. He has maintained peace, while they have headed for, or drifted into, war. Whereas it can be said of them, with Shakespeare: "Before them they carry noise; behind them they leave tears"; or again: "Their every step is timed with dying cries," he has shrunk from the limelight and set himself to binding up the wounds of his sorely tried country and drying its tears. Ultimately such an example of true statesmanship, in a world coming more and more to resemble a vast criminal asylum, must win the recognition it deserves.

What distinguishes Salazar from most other rulers is a rare union

f philosophic depth and practical sagacity. He probes the problems onfronting him to the roots. He tests all solutions proposed in the ght of a clear, coherent and complete *Weltanschauung*. He arrives t conclusions firmly held and carefully sifted. Yet he is not at the ercy of his ideas or ideals. He knows the complexities of life and the aution requisite in adjusting ideals to reality. He reminds one of dmund Burke. Inferior to the great Irishman in eloquence and terary power, though attaining also distinction in both, he surpasses im in subtlety of thought and in practical good sense. His philosophy f politics is thus more realisable and, therefore, wiser—more useful ertainly to rulers who must deal with the hard facts of life. He loves reedom more passionately far than the noisy, ranting demagogues ho, in the name of liberty, have undermined the whole structure f democratic society. But he knows the difficulty of attaining it and, till more, the difficulty of retaining it amid the anarchical tendencies ow everywhere manifest as a result of a radically false conception f the nature of man and the nature of society. He sees the immense ifficulty of reconciling the claims of authority with the rights of the ndividual; and he approaches the task with the meticulous caution f the prudent man, not with the one-sided fanaticism of the doctrinaire. f Europe is ever to emerge from its slough of despond, it must be by he multiplication of such minds among its rulers.

Salazar's philosophy can be best studied in the volume which ontains his speeches and public utterances. But perhaps it can be ven more agreeably learned from the present work, in which not nly his ideas but his personality are vividly portrayed. The author irst came to know Salazar when as a journalist he was privileged o interview him. Later he has come to work under him in an executive apacity. Hence he writes with authority and with the journalist's lair for lively presentation.

Despairing of doing more than misrepresenting by short extracts r brief résumés a mind so complex and so balanced as is Salazar's, prefer to say simply that no one who wishes to deal with the very elicate and dangerous questions of political, social or economic reform an afford to neglect this work. The Portuguese premier is much cited now. But it is often clear that those who seek to sail under his colours know next to nothing of the variety of those colours; they take this r that feature of his system and try to dovetail it in with other ystems with which it will not coalesce, or they adapt it to quite other ircumstances where it may prove not helpful but disastrous. No good can come of this. But much may be learned from Salazar by hose who are prepared to study him till they understand him and an adapt his ideas—with something of his own wisdom—to other, and perhaps very different, surroundings.

P. J. Gannon

SPANISH TUDOR. The Life of Bloody Mary. By H. F. M. Prescott. London: Constable. 1940. 18s.

Mary I of England, to whose name history has attached so uncomplimentary an epithet, has been made the subject of many writings—histories, novels, poems and dramas—but it seems to us that the estimate made of her character in Miss Prescott's book is by far the most just and impartial that we have read. The author makes her stand before us as a tragic figure; a woman whose path through life was overshadowed by almost perpetual gloom; who in her aims—religious, political and private—knew nothing but defeat, frustration and failure; who even in her tomb has been pursued by an obloquy which, to a great extent, she does not deserve. We pity her; we sympathise with her; and yet we somehow feel for her no great liking and no special respect.

It was Mary's misfortune to be especially lacking in precisely the qualities most essential for a ruler: tact, discretion, firmness, self-confidence, and the power of estimating character. The wonderful, mysterious gift of personal attractiveness, which plays so great a part in public life, was not hers either. No one, except her mother, seems to have had any great affection for her; she never appears to have influenced any one—except indeed inversely, by inducing them to act in a way contrary to that which she desired. To her mind the characters of men were either black or white. One discovered deception was enough to make her withdraw all trust from the deceiver. She did not realize that in politics faulty tools must often be employed and that they are useful, if employed with caution.

Yet Mary had many fine qualities. She was deeply religious and absolutely sincere. In an age of intrigue and deceitfulness she was honest. In public and in private matters her conscience was her guide. Never would she adopt a course of action which she considered wrong, however expedient it might appear to be. When the Treasury was in sore distress for funds, she restored the First Fruits to the Church and insisted in paying back, as far as she could, the money which she had borrowed for public needs.

It is not probable that the traits of her character would have been greatly modified by external influence; they seem to have been to a large extent fundamental and hereditary. Still, the experiences of her girlhood; the bullying and persecution which she endured from her father; the insults to which she saw her beloved mother subjected; the atmosphere of treachery and unkindness in which she herself was compelled to live—all these must have left their mark. It is to her credit that this mark was not deeper—that she did not become, in consequence of what she had suffered, tyrannical, deceitful, revengeful and cruel.

Cruel Mary certainly was not. During her short reign she experienced two actual rebellions, those of Northumberland and of Wyatt, and one conspiracy, that of Throgmorton, which did not attain to fruition in action. After the suppression of these the number of the rank and file of the rebels who forfeited their lives was not, considering the usage of the time, great. Of the leaders only a few underwent capital punishment—and of those few, all except two clearly deserved their fate. As regards these two, Lady Jane Grey and her husband Lord Guildford Dudley, excuses for the Queen's action in ordering their execution are not wanting.

We turn now to the phase of her policy by which, unfortunately for her fame, "the Spanish Tudor" is chiefly remembered—the persecution of the English Protestants and especially the capital sentences executed on some three hundred of them. For these things we are inclined to agree with our author in holding the Queen herself responsible. We would even go further than she goes and question the validity of the plea which she enters to excuse the Queen—namely that she acted under the influence of her husband. That Philip even approved of the executions is far from certain. The evidence to the contrary cannot, we conceive, be lightly explained away. Mary's Spanish marriage was undoubtedly the main cause, through the intense unpopularity which it aroused in England, of the completeness of her failure as a ruler; but no absolutely direct connection between it and the persecution of the Protestants seems to exist.

Here however, while condemning Mary's actions on several grounds, we should not, in fairness, forget to take into account her motives—very different from those of Henry VIII and Elizabeth. Mary had, in the beginning of her reign, promised religious toleration and she endeavoured to keep her word. Doubtless the had hoped that gentleness, patience and instruction would lead back into the True Fold those of her subjects who had deserted it. These hopes were not fulfilled. Rebellions, riots, outrages, ill-treatment of priests, insulting interruptions of Catholic services, desecrations of sacred vessels and of the Host itself, and burnings of churches followed. Angry and disappointed, Mary turned to violent methods—she was half a Spaniard and by no means a clever woman—believing or striving to believe that the English people had been merely deceived by false quacks and that, when these were removed, they would realize the error of their ways.

At least, even those who condemn Mary most must acknowledge that her own punishment was heavy. The world has seen few more tragic royal death-beds than that on which Mary lay in the November of 1558—lonely and friendless, deserted by her husband, deceived in the hope of a child for whose coming she longed not merely with the

ordinary love of an expectant mother, but because on its existence would depend the success of the project which lay nearest to her heart—the bringing back of England to Catholicity.

It seems rather strange that a book dealing in considerable detail with Mary's reign makes absolutely no mention of her Irish policy. Yet one part of this policy at least is interesting, since it was under her government that, by the plantation of Leix and Offaly, the first attempt was made to carry out a system which became subsequently so prominent amongst England's attempts to govern Ireland. It is true that with the actual details of the settlement the Queen herself had probably little to do; but the directions which she issued, when the scheme had been completely arranged *on parchment* and agreed to by legislation, are characteristic and show clearly her mental limitations and her incapacity to grasp facts. English law was to be enforced in the newly-shired lands; judges were to go in circuit there; and competent priests were to be sent *out of England* to take up work in the parishes.

In conclusion we venture to protest against our author's assumption that Mary's defects as a ruler were, mainly or at least in great part, due to her sex. Surely, she cannot ignore the absence of these defects in her sister Elizabeth or their presence in many male sovereigns—for example James II, whose character remarkably resembles that of Mary in several respects. We are told again that Scotland suffered under a "disability" in having a woman regent. Confessedly Mary of Lorraine was not a wise ruler; but it may be doubted whether her government was as detrimental to Scotland as were the rivalries of the successive male regents who, a generation later, squabbled and intrigued round her grandson the boy-king James VI. History shows us many good regents and not a few bad ones; but the qualities of neither sort were determined by their sex. The rule of Blanche of Castile, mother of Saint Louis, and that of Anne of Beaujeu, sister of Charles VIII, constituted no "disability" for France. M. T. H.

Classics

LIFE AND THOUGHT IN THE GREEK AND ROMAN WORLD. By M. Cary and T. J. Haarhoff. London: Methuen. 1940. 8s. 6d. net.

Gow's *Companion to School Classics*, which first appeared in 1886, has served a very useful purpose for many generations of school-goers, and is now perhaps a little antiquated, even for the young. The present work may best be viewed as a substitute for Gow, and it is instructive to observe the difference between them. The Victorian work was strict in its scholastic aim; its abundant information was all neatly arranged for systematic and thorough absorption by the pupil. Messrs.

ary and Haarhoff have in view a public whose appetite is at once more sophisticated and more capricious. Their pleasantly-written little book is much easier to read through than Gow, but perhaps for that very reason it does not convey to the reader anything like such detailed and accurate knowledge. Presumably it is aimed as much at the grown-up seeker after culture as at the earnest or unwilling schoolboy. At any rate it strikes a very happy mean between them, and can be cordially recommended for the school library and the study-circle.

Professor Cary is one of the best authorities in England on Greek and Roman history, while Professor Haarhoff of Witwatersrand is famous as a South African educationist and populariser of classical literature. From internal evidence, it would seem that they have divided the book equally between them, each contributing five of its ten chapters. There can be little doubt at least as to the South African origin of the chapter on "Education and Scholarship," which refers to the "holistic" outlook of Vitruvius. Professor Cary covers the material side of ancient life, beginning with an excellent chapter on its geographical background and giving a masterly brief sketch of Greek and Roman history, before discussing economics and social organisation and the various ways in which public and private documents were recorded and preserved. As is only to be expected, he is always clear, accurate, and up-to-date; an instance of the last-mentioned quality is his reference to the mosaics of Antioch and the Olynthian house.

The second part of the book, which deals with philosophy, science, art, literature, education and religion, is hardly quite up to the really high standard of the first. It is more discursive in style and less rigorous in method; and while it forms a useful introduction to a vast subject, one misses in it the precision and firmness of outline to which one has grown accustomed in Mr. Cary's chapters. In dealing with art, for instance, it would have been well to refer to the series of magnificent fifth-century bronzes recovered during the last twenty years from the sea off Greece and to the wonderful work done by modern scholarship on the classification of vase-paintings. The repetition on p. 239 of the exploded Renaissance calumny about the burning of Sappho's works for alleged moral reasons in medieval Constantinople is unfair both to the medieval Greeks and to the poetess herself. It is misleading to say that the three great tragic poets were each truly representative of his generation, considering that Euripides and Sophocles were almost exactly contemporary. There is much that is interesting and valuable in the chapter on education, but one could have wished for a clearer account of the Sophists, their invention of prose as an artistic medium, and the reaction of the Socratics against both them and the poets. Again in the account of Hellenistic culture,

it would have been well to have assessed more definitely the respective contributions made to it by the successors of Isocrates on the one hand and Plato on the other and their juncture in Posidonius of Rhodes. Finally, the etymology of *educare* which connects it with *Educa* is not only not new but long since discarded. M. T.

History

OLD IRISH LINKS WITH FRANCE. Some Echoes of Exiled Ireland. By Richard Hayes. Dublin : M. H. Gill. 1940. 7s. 6d. net.

This is the fourth book on Irish relations with France to come from the pen of Dr. Hayes, whose learning, patience and devotion have made him the acknowledged authority on a most important aspect of our history. Consisting as it does for the most part of essays already published (several of them in *Studies*) it represents rather a series of *parerga* than a complete and exhaustive survey ; though by giving in his appendices full lists of Irish names from the records of such towns as Nantes and St. Malo, Dr. Hayes has earned the gratitude of all who are likely to work after him in his chosen field. Another very valuable contribution to history is his publication of extracts from the diary of Father John Kavanagh, chaplain in the French navy from 1781-83, with which readers of *Studies* will be familiar.

The main body of the work consists of four chapters dealing with Irish exiles in Paris, Nantes, Bordeaux and Rouen. So packed are these brief chapters with names and narratives that each of them could probably be expanded to make a book in itself. Curiously enough, the one on Paris makes on the reader an impression of being based on less material than the other three. This is perhaps because Irish connections were naturally closer with the western seaports of France, especially during the 17th and 18th centuries ; but obviously there is more to be said about Irishmen in Paris than is said here. Dr. Hayes ends this first chapter most effectively with the pathetic story of Edmund Dwyer Gray's meeting with James Stephens, the Fenian leader, homeless and penniless, asleep on a park seat in the early morning. It is a pity that he should have included Duns Scotus in his roll of famous Irishmen connected with Paris, and that he should have emphasised our claim to the philosopher by inserting Raphael's portrait of him as a frontispiece ; for Duns Scotus, in spite of his epithet and the piety of his Irish Franciscan disciples, is now universally acknowledged to have been a Scot in the modern sense of the word.

Relations between Ireland and the western French seaboard must be almost as old as Irish history itself, for has not Professor O'Rahilly suggested that the ruling race among the pagan Irish were descended from the remnant of the Helvetii left unaccounted for by Caesar ?

r. Hayes raises interesting speculations by quoting Kuno Meyer's erivation of the Irish place-name *Bordgal* from *Burdigala*, the Latin r Bordeaux, which was a famous seat of learning as early as the th century. When Normandy and Gascony were part of the English ing's dominions, it was natural that these relations should become oser than ever. Nothing is more picturesque in Dr. Hayes's book an the description of Butler's Irish contingent at the Siege of Rouen 1418. Their habit of going with one foot bare has a curious interest r the classical scholar, who remembers that this was an ancient etolian custom and that Pindar's Jason was recognised by wearing nly one shoe.

When the first great Irish *diaspora* began in the 17th century, rge numbers of Irishmen settled in Bordeaux, Nantes, Rouen, St. Malo and other western French towns, and the abject poverty of these xiles is revealed in many records. At first looked on as vagrants, hey were very well treated when their true character became known, nd during the 18th century they supplied many distinguished families o these towns. Some of these families still survive, with names either bviously Irish or under a queer French disguise, and they have left nemorials of themselves in place-names as well as in churches called fter St. Patrick. In the Revolution Irishmen took a vigorous part n both sides, heroic or sinister according to their character: the ecord of John O'Sullivan at Nantes furnishes a strange example of he sinister kind, and Dr. Hayes gives many others. A similar shock o our national pride is administered by the suggestion of a recent rench writer that the Walshes of Nantes, who gave such help to rince Charlie, owed their great riches partly to the slave trade. There s a curious light shed on the attitude of the exiles to the Volunteers, who according to Grattan brought the Irish nation to birth, in a letter rom Captain Rickard O'Connell of the Irish Brigade to a cousin in Kerry in 1779: (p. 147) "Would to God that we (*i.e.* the Brigade) were at this moment 200,000 strong in Ireland . . . I would kick the members and their Volunteers . . . to the devil. I would make the rascally spawn of damned Cromwell curse the hour of his birth." There is an unused key to much modern Irish history in this short letter.

M. T.

COUNTRY AND TOWN IN IRELAND UNDER THE GEORGES. By Constantia Maxwell, M.A., D.Litt. London: Harrap. 1940. 18s. net.

The scope of this latest work of Dr. Maxwell is wide—no less than the putting before us of a picture of Irish social life and its surroundings during a period of over a hundred years (1714–1830).

A pleasant, colourful existence, one whose abundant leisure we

whose lives have been cast in more strenuous days are apt at times to envy, was that of the richer classes in the Ireland of the Georgian period. For the majority of the population life was very different. With this majority, aliens to them to a great extent in race and wholly in creed and in national outlook, the Irish gentry concerned themselves, as a rule, but little. Although more and more, as time went on, a very real colonial patriotism grew up amongst them, England was still to them a mother-country. They spoke her language, copied the dress and the customs of their contemporaries across the channel; but they copied with a difference. They idled more, drank more, and duelled more; they gambled for higher stakes in proportion to their means. Probably they enjoyed life more intensely; for they were freer and less bound down by etiquette. For all the splendour of many of their houses—several of which are pictured in the illustrations of Dr. Maxwell's book—the artistic beauty of their furniture, the fineness of the wines and the abundance of the meats which graced their banquets, the magnificence of their clothes, a certain disorder and carelessness as to details appears in many aspects of their lives; and this shows more markedly the lower we descend in the financial scale. Dean Swift's picture of Quilca, with its lockless doors, its broken tables, its lack of proper pots and pans, the unwashed 'savages' who thronged its kitchens, is doubtless exaggerated, but has surely in it the elements of truth.

If the life described in Dr. Maxwell's chapters on the Irish country gentry is scarcely one which we should desire to see revived in the Ireland of to-day, our feelings in reading the chapter on the country towns are rather those of sadness at changes for the worse. In the Georgian epoch each provincial city and many even of the smaller towns had their own social circle, often their own local industry. Waterford, Cork, Limerick, Derry had theatres to which first-class actors came when on tour. They had Assembly Rooms in which entertainments were given during the season. On their promenades the fine ladies and the gentlemen showed themselves attired in their handsomest clothes. Chetwood (1748) compares the Mall in Cork with St. James's Park in London. Lady Portarlington, writing in 1785, speaks of the "balls and assemblies every night" at Newtown-Perry (Limerick). The linen industry, though its decay in the South had begun, still continued to be fairly flourishing in several parts of the country outside of Ulster. The fishing fleet of the Galway Claddagh numbered some five hundred boats, great and small, when the season was at its height. Bandon produced quantities of woollen and cotton cloth, its cotton mills employing over a thousand workers. At Kilkenny about three thousand persons were, in 1821, engaged in the manufacture of blankets. Free trade and facilities of communication have not proved unmixed

lessings. The former has often been injurious to small local industries, while the latter has enabled the great capitals to suck out the blood of social life in the provincial centres.

In dealing with the question of landlords and agriculture, our author has very properly found fault with the prejudiced views of those who indulge in wholesale condemnation of Irish landlords. Many of these were undoubtedly excellent and well-meaning men who interested themselves in the welfare of their tenants and in the development of their estates. They endeavoured to improve the very backward methods of agriculture, to discourage such barbarous practices as ploughing by the tail and burning the straw on the field, and to substitute better agricultural machines for the old-fashioned ones still in use in many districts. Nevertheless the percentage of such landlords was small as compared with the number of perpetual or frequent absentees. The careless owner who handed over the management of his estate to an agent whose doings he did not supervise or farmed out the rents to a middleman who squeezed the last penny from the miserable tenants, these were too common types in Georgian Ireland, as was also the actual tyrant who did the rack-renting himself and enjoyed the proceeds in riotous living. It seems to us that too much credence has been given by our author to the statements made by Arthur Young, who only visited the best ordered estates and was unable, owing to his ignorance of Irish, to converse with the peasants himself. At any rate, he would have probably extracted little or nothing from them even where the difficulty of the language did not intervene. Always and everywhere the peasant is suspicious of the stranger and the foreigner.

Another point on which we think that further investigation might induce Dr. Maxwell to modify her views is that of public charity. In the Ireland of this period public charity was practically always accompanied by proselytism. Proselytism was usually avowed to be one of its objects. In speaking of the notorious Charter Schools this is indeed mentioned and condemned by Dr. Maxwell; but nothing about it is said when other public educational institutions are noted. Yet in all of them the admission of pupils was conditional on their being educated in the Protestant religion. Moreover, in most of the charitable foundations there was gross mismanagement, which usually the board or committee of directors made little effort to check or correct. The death-rate in the Dublin Foundling Hospital was appalling; of the children received into the Waterford workhouse scarcely one survived to attain maturity. An official whose duty it was to inspect the Charter Schools confessed that, in the sixteen years during which he had held his position, the Dublin school was the only one which he had visited. Much of the food supposed to be supplied to the paupers in the Dublin

workhouse never reached those for whom it was intended. The vegetables grown for the use of the inmates were sold by the officials for their own profit. Numbers of the pupils in the Charter Schools were found, after many years of residence in these establishments, to be unable to read or write.

As regards the chapter entitled " Parsons and Priests ", it might be pointed out that the priest scarcely gets a fair measure of attention. To him, the pastor of over 80 per cent. of Ireland's then population, but thirteen pages are assigned, while to the parson twenty-six pages are devoted. Still, it must in justice be noted that the life of the priest in penal times, and more especially of those who were unregistered, was of necessity hidden and obscure. It was a life all the harder to endure because of that obscurity ; for no hope of the glories of a martyr's crown illumined it. The death penalty, which the law assigned to the regular priest or the unregistered secular, was practically never judicially carried out. Instead, there awaited him, if captured, the prospect of long years passed in a dark and filthy prison surrounded by ruffians of both sexes, and in the end a premature death due to the hardships endured.

Still it would be a mistake to suppose that, in the lives of the priests or their flocks, there was nothing but gloom. The people had their pleasures as well as their pains, and in both their pastor shared. He watched the dances, on the cabin floor in winter and at the cross-roads in summer. He sat by the turf-fire when the old stories were told. At the simple marriage feast he drank the health of the newly wedded pair. Later he would christen the numerous babies with whom God generally blessed them ; and when the end came, he or his successor would speed them on the last long journey. Thus it was the priest's task and privilege, not only to keep before the eyes of his flock the great hope of the hereafter, but by his presence and sympathy to enhance their simple pleasures and enable them to maintain, in spite of poverty and oppression and injustice, a wonderful spirit of cheerfulness. Many of the quotations from contemporary sources in Dr. Maxwell's book speak of the cheerfulness, the good humour, the merry wit of even the poorest of the Irish.

In this sophisticated, introspective, and generally discontented age of ours it is almost equally difficult for us to understand the rich and the poor of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century Ireland—those whose desires were limited to a sufficiency of the common necessities of life—food, clothing, dwelling—and those whose lives were passed in almost perpetual amusement and who, if their thoughts ever strayed to the hardships endured by the ' lower classes', considered these as inevitable and the natural lot of persons in their social condition. In aiding us to comprehend both Dr. Maxwell's book will be most

valuable. In it both the reader who desires mere entertainment and the student wishing to acquire a more extended knowledge of Ireland's social and economic past will find the respective objects of their search. Its many handsome illustrations will enable both to visualise the stately houses of the rich, the cabins of the poor, the narrow streets of the towns, the harbours where the sailing ships rode at anchor, the hunting field, the promenade where the fine lady strolled up and down, the pattern where the peasant knelt in prayer. To both, the dilettante and the scholar, we can heartily recommend the perusal of this book. M. T. H.

LE ROI HÉRODE ET AUTRES ESSAIS. By Dom Hilaire Duesberg. Abbaye de Maredsous. 1932. 306 pp.

THE HERODS OF JUDAEA. By A. H. M. Jones, Fellow of All Souls College. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1938. xii × 270 pp. 4 Plates. 4 Maps. 7s.

The title of Dom Duesberg's volume is deceptive, as it gives only a faint idea of the character and richness of its contents. There are four essays in all. The first is a sketch of the wars of the Machabees, describing the reaction of Judaism against the forces of Hellenism which threatened to engulf it. The second is a history of the reign of King Herod, concluding with a brief account of those of his descendants who figure in the New Testament. The third brings us to the year 30 A.D. and gives us a striking picture of the political and religious parties and conditions in Palestine when Our Lord preached the Gospel of the Kingdom of God. The fourth exposes the relations between Judaism and Christianity in the Apostolic age, the ever widening breach which separated them, and the factors which contributed to the failure of Judaism and to the success of Christianity in its world mission. The central idea of the whole work is thus the character and development of late pre-Christian and early Christian Judaism in its relation to Christianity.

Dom Duesberg does full justice to the better elements in later Judaism, the religious heroism of the early Machabees and the reforming zeal of the Pharisees. But he shows at the same time how these movements degenerated into the lust for saecular dominion of the later Hasmonaean monarchs and the external legal observance of the Pharisaic contemporaries of Our Lord. Nationalism and legalism were the chief obstacles to the reception of the Gospel in the Jewish world. He calls attention moreover to the contribution of the Jewish Diaspora to the spread of Christianity in the Apostolic age. Judaism had spread throughout the empire and was not only tolerated by Roman law but also attracted many pagan proselytes to its synagogues. As long therefore as Christianity was held to be merely a Jewish sect, it was

protected from the full rigour of Roman persecution. The Christian missionaries moreover preached the Gospel in the Jewish synagogues; and while the Jews, for the most part, rejected the new doctrines, the pagan proselytes accepted them in large numbers. Thus the early converts were generally pagans who had become Jewish proselytes.

These few remarks will give some idea of the value of Dom Duesberg's work as a study of the Jewish background of the Gospel. We recommend it warmly to students of Christian origins.

Professor Jones informs us in his introduction that his object in writing this monograph on the Herods of Judaea is not apologetical but historical. This period of Jewish history is of great historical interest, since it was then that the struggle between Judaism and Hellenism became most acute and ended in a desperate rebellion and the destruction of the Jewish state. Palestine moreover under Herodian rule is the one instance of a Roman client kingdom on which we have abundant information, largely derived from the subject people. The Herods were loyal to Rome and ardent supporters of Hellenism, and it is from their standpoint that this history is written.

The material is presented in a popular manner without foot-notes or references to sources or discussions of conflicting views on minor points. The author has succeeded in giving life to the dry bones of history, and there is scarcely a dull page in his very clear and complete account of the fortunes of the house of Herod. He has evidently made a thorough study of his subject and is generally sound in his judgements. But his sympathy with the Herods comes near to partiality at times, though it does not lead him to ignore their very grave defects. He holds, for instance, that Herod the Great did not overtax his subjects, though this was one of the chief complaints made against him by the Jewish embassy to Augustus after his death and seems to be borne out by his enormous expenditure of money on public buildings at home and abroad and on presents to his Roman friends.

It is regrettable that Professor Jones's attitude towards the New Testament sources of the history of the period is one of distrust. He rejects the massacre of the Innocents as a legend, even though it is in complete accord with the character of Herod, who ruthlessly exterminated several real or suspected pretendents to the throne of Judah in his own family circle. He discredits St. Luke's narrative of the Nativity by asserting that the census of 5-6 A.D. was the first Roman census taken in Palestine. St. Luke is supposed to have referred to this and to have used it as a setting for the birth of Christ many years earlier. The case of Herod Antipas and the two religious movements of his reign is more remarkable. According to the Gospel this ruler imprisoned the Baptist but left Christ unmolested, because, while he never came in contact with the latter, he was publicly denounced

by the former for his scandalous immorality in taking his brothers' wife. According to Professor Jones, Herod Antipas was an able ruler and saw clearly the danger of the two religious revivals, but he acted differently in each case because "Jesus' teaching does not seem at this time to have made as much stir as John's." It would seem to follow from this that Christ's teaching never attracted much attention, since Herod Antipas never molested him, and that the evangelical narratives of his Galilaean ministry are gross exaggerations.

These few remarks show that Professor Jones's book must be used with caution; but they are not meant to deny its utility to Scripture students. E. P.

IRELAND IN THE AGE OF REFORM AND REVOLUTION. By Nicholas Mansergh. London: Allen and Unwin. 1940. 10s. 6d. net.

This very interesting book, though brief, is so full of varied matter that it presents a difficult task to the reviewer. Its sub-title is "A Commentary on Anglo-Irish Relations and on Political Forces in Ireland, 1840-1921," and it is divided into three parts, with a concluding chapter. The first part is entitled "Ireland under the Union: the Opinion of Contemporary Observers"; the second "English Statesmen and the Repeal of the Union"; and the third "The Character of the Irish Revolt"; while the conclusion discusses the relative significance of economic and political forces in the development of Anglo-Irish relations. The book has value as a work of reference, even apart from its philosophic content, and this value is enhanced by a good bibliography and index. It is unfortunately marred by a rather unusual proportion of misprints—perhaps due to the difficulty of the times—the worst of which is the dating on p. 85 of Wyndham's Land Act to 1937.

Dr. Mansergh has already made his mark by his studies on the constitutions and governments of the Irish Free State and Northern Ireland, and the present work is well worthy of his high reputation. It is a book which should be read and pondered not only by historians and students of the past, but by everyone who claims to have an opinion on the present state or the probable future of Ireland. For all its slightness it has evidently had devoted to it a great deal of disciplined thinking; and if at times the reader may perhaps find himself in disagreement with its emphasis, he will also find himself forced to think out his reasons for so disagreeing. Ireland has suffered considerably in the past because its political opinion, both among leaders and led, has been instinctive rather than based on clear and rational premises. Our modern history is still far from having been adequately written, and this in itself prevents us from understanding the forces by which we are often violently moved and the tendencies

of our motion. This is particularly the case in regard to what may be called the philosophy of our history. We are nationalists in a very powerful but very peculiar sense, which marks us off sharply from other nations; and although we readily take over economic and social doctrines from external sources, we are surprised to find that they do not fit our problems and thus produce unexpected effects when applied thereto. It is because it supplies at least a partial corrective to these dangerous inclinations that Dr. Mansergh's book has a high value.

He himself is very far indeed from taking a severe or hostile view of Irish nationalism; indeed the last sentence in the book is a fine tribute to the good sense and constructive spirit displayed by the movement. He begins with an attempt, most interesting if not entirely fruitful in results, to bring it into relation with the far more consequential nationalist philosophies of the Continent, especially as represented by those two very different Italian thinkers, Cavour and Mazzini. Both wrote on Ireland, but their views are really more important as illustrating their own thought than as throwing any particular light on our problems. The same may be said of Marx and Engels, whose surprisingly numerous writings on Ireland Dr. Mansergh discusses at length. Like Lenin, their greatest disciple, they saw Irish conditions and prospects entirely through their own doctrinal spectacles. Their importance in relation to Ireland lies not so much in their view of contemporary events as in the tendency, which they have bequeathed to many others besides professed Communists, towards interpreting all historical movements as entirely produced by economic causes. Dr. Mansergh has occasion many times to insist on the falsity of this interpretation, of which indeed Ireland is a crucial test.

The economic criterion nevertheless has its importance if judiciously applied, and is in fact only a little more false than the purely political, so-called, which Dr. Mansergh prefers. The fact is that if the term political be narrowly interpreted as applied only to current events, it becomes a bewilderment, indeed has very little meaning at all. Irish nationalism has taken many political forms, some of them surprising, but its motive-force has always been the tenacious hold of the people, even when at their weakest, on the memory of an ancient independent Irish culture—a native way of life which made Ireland, as Keating said, "a little world to herself." Dr. Mansergh's second last chapter deals with the influence of the Romantic ideal in Irish politics, and in it he does more than due justice to the poets of the "Celtic Twilight" and to plays like *Cathleen Ni Houlihan*. Here surely his emphasis is a little askew. The romanticism of Yeats and Æ was effective and important, not because it was the belated offshoot of a European movement but because it met and reinforced something far older and more powerful, even in its last phase, in the people themselves. It

was because the Gaelic League did the same thing much more effectively that it became what Pearse called it, the most revolutionary force in Irish history ; and it has lost its power in recent times largely by reason of the fact that its *cultural* appeal has grown shallow and obscure. The criticism of Arthur Griffith, to which Dr. Mansergh refers, that he wished to make Ireland " a Gaelic Manchester " was a profound one, and has its meaning for the present day.

In the central section of his book Dr. Mansergh selects for criticism the records of three English statesmen with regard to Ireland from 1880 to 1914. They are Joseph Chamberlain, Lord Randolph Churchill, and Asquith, and he shows how each made his own peculiar contribution at a critical phase to the complex in which Irish politics still move. His discussion is in many respects original and penetrating, and is continued in a long chapter on the Liberal conversion to Home Rule, in which he emphasises the unique importance of Gladstone—the only English statesman who brought a whole mind, and a powerful one, to bear on the Irish question—and the fatal effect of the support given by Parnell to the Tories in 1885. This error led directly to the defeat of the first Home Rule Bill, to the policy of " resolute government," and ultimately to the Rebellion and the Sinn Féin revolution. " What Mr. Gladstone said in 1886 " has become a symbol of the irrelevant interjection, but no one can read this book without vividly realising how powerful a force these far-off struggles still exert on the politics of the present. Too often controversialists write and speak as if the past were unimportant. Books such as this would save many such from the shock of contact with the irremediable reality they are so prone to neglect. M. T.

ITALY IN THE MAKING: Jan. 1, 1848 *to Nov.* 16, 1848. By G. F-H. and J. Berkeley. Cambridge University Press. 1940. 25s.

Mr. and Mrs. Berkeley have spent long years on the patient investigation of documents in many lands, seeking to get at " the truth, the whole truth and nothing but the truth "—to quote the motto they have inscribed at the head of this volume. Students of modern Italian history owe them an immense debt, which has been frequently acknowledged. Students of modern Catholic history are no less in their debt. For the central figure in this volume, and in the preceding volume which covered the period from June 1846 to January 1848, is Pio Nono, " the Liberal Pope." So much has been written and argued on all sides of the questions raised by the events of those dramatic years that it is a great boon indeed to have here, set forth in simple straightforward narrative, the bare facts and a quiet reasonable commentary.

When the story opens in January 1848 the Papal States, under the young Pius IX, were one of the three " reforming states " on which the hopes of all Italian patriots centred, and Pio Nono's name had become a battle-cry (in the most literal sense of the word) for all who were ready to die for the cause of an independent federated Italy. *Italia farà da sè :* that was the idealistic, if unpractical, programme of Charles Albert in Piedmont. What was Italy called to accomplish ? Had it been only the renewal of Italian youth and vitality, the recapture of a great tradition, Pio Nono would have remained to the end the enthusiastic, sympathetic, generous-minded leader of his people. But Italy could only achieve her freedom by the expulsion of Austrian soldiers and governors from the peninsula ; and Austria was one of the great Catholic powers of Europe. Here was the fatal dilemma in which Pio Nono was caught, and his decision to draw back from the enterprise once war with Austria had become inevitable has been most sympathetically examined by these two English scholars. To quote their judgment on the issue that was at stake when the Pope made his famous Allocution of April 29th, 1848 : " It was by this Allocution that he saved, perhaps for ever, the *international* character of the Papacy. . . . . To lose it would have been a disaster for the Church. . . . . The Roman Catholic Church would have been swamped by nationalism—which was the true religion of the nineteenth century, but will *not* be the religion of the world to come." A Catholic writer would have worded that judgment somewhat differently, but its essential truth is plain.

Apart from this central drama, which has more than Italian or Austrian interest, this book gives a full account of many another episode on which the authors throw new light. A large portion of the volume is devoted to a detailed account of the campaign in Lombardy in which it seemed for a time that all was lost, and then Radetzky's astonishing vigour and ability turned the tide in favour of Austria. The military details seem unreal in our more terrible age of totalitarian warfare, but Radetzky emerges from the story as a sympathetic type of the old Austrian imperial army. For the story of Manin's revolution in Venice the authors are content to refer English readers to Professor Trevelyan's volume, but they give an exceedingly clear account of the " Five Days " in Milan, where local political divergences nearly wrecked a heroic effort to regain freedom. The study of King Ferdinand's policy at Naples throws much light on the actions of a much-maligned sovereign, whom Gladstone made a thumping-board for his resounding fist. There is also a most attractive study of the pathetic but far from ineffective figure of Charles Albert in Piedmont, whose position was hardly less tragic than that of the Pope in Rome. And in Rome two persons emerge as Pio Nono's most loyal friends :

his liberal Prime Minister, Pellegrino Rossi, whose murder is here finely narrated, and the young Cardinal Antonelli who stood by the Pope in the darkest hours, when many others hid or fled, and who thereby won from Pio Nono a confidence that was to prove a permanent factor in the next thirty years. P. D.

MEXICO. A New Spain with Old Friends. By J. B. Trend. Cambridge University Press. 1940. 185 pp. 12s. 6d.

Mexico is still one of those countries that offer to the interested traveller a rich variety of natural and intellectual vistas. The remains of pre-Spanish cultures are still there, and in fact they have been the object of recent research. Many monuments also, both religious and civil, bear witness to the constructive work of the Spanish *Conquistadores*. And the Spanish tradition has left behind, amid the tropical beauty of the Mexican deserts, plains and mountains, not only the Castilian language but also the Castilian customs and traits of character.

Mr. J. B. Trend, in his recent book *Mexico: A New Spain with Old Friends*, shows exceptional abilities in presenting to the reader a charming picture of Mexico. It is the outcome of two visits as a sympathetic traveller, and his exceptional knowledge of Spanish enabled him to come into direct contact with Mexican life.

The author's interest in Mexican flora is shown in a description of Mexican flowers. His visit to the Maya archaeological excavations in Yucatán helped him to describe in detail the work done up to the present and its importance in connection with the history and civilization of the Aztec and Toltec peoples. But chapters 14 and 15—the former on "Alphabets for Indians," the latter on "Mexican Spanish"—are by far the best of the whole work. Mr. Trend's thorough knowledge of Castilian Spanish placed him in a position to appreciate the characteristics of Mexican Spanish. His correct observations and able handling of phonetics will enable the interested reader to gather an accurate and full idea of the differences and similarities between Castilian and Mexican Spanish. The similarity between the latter and Spanish as spoken in the South of Spain is not due, according to the author, to the preponderance of Andalusians in Mexico. It is due to phonetic processes of development that took place both in Southern Spain and in Latin America almost simultaneously. This is certainly an interesting theory which Mr. Trend bases on solid arguments.

In Mr. Trend's own words this book "is merely the account of a Spanish Professor's sabbatical holiday in the New Spain." It is therefore lamentable that such an account should be interspersed with criticisms of a type that is both out of date and in very poor taste. And it is the mentality inspiring these criticisms more than

the criticisms themselves—irrelevant as some of them are—that is responsible for a certain lack of balance of judgment in a work that otherwise has its merits. The author seems to be ignorant of the civilizing influence of the Catholic Church and of the work of the Jesuits in Mexico when he says: "Mexico like Spain somewhat overbuilt itself in the way of Churches; and the plan of turning superfluous conventicles into public libraries is one that might be followed in other countries besides Mexico"; or again: "The eighteenth-century Jesuit College, Colegio Máximo de San Ildefonso (in Mexico) still exists, serving a more useful purpose as the National Preparatory School" (pp. 28 and 29). And he repeats the same theme when he says: "The State College at Guanajato . . . was originally a Jesuit Foundation, now (like my own pre-Reformation College in Cambridge) converted to what I am bound to consider better uses" (p. 118). But he gives himself away when, describing Puebla and its inhabitants, he says that he was "appalled at the religiosity of the place" and speaks of the "Cristeros—the 'Christ's men'—bloodiest and most barbarous of all Mexican revolutionaries, who chiefly distinguished themselves by blowing up bridges and wrecking trains to the greater glory of God; Viva Cristo Rey!"; and further on he adds: "It is to be feared that there is less of poetry than of business in modern Mexican Catholicism. The duty of a Catholic is to save his soul, to turn out the Government, and restore their property to the big landowners and the Church" (p. 64).

These and several more instances that we omit—to say nothing of his remarks on rebel Franco and the "legitimately elected" (*sic*) Republican Government of Spain,—serve only to lessen the value of a work which is otherwise well written and interesting. Perhaps this book was only meant for those readers in Mexico and outside for whom there is only one Mexico and one Spain—the Mexico of Calles and the Spain of such democrats as Negrín and Prieto.

The deservedly high reputation of the Cambridge University Press will not be enhanced by the publication of this book. R. Conesa

English Literature

LAST POEMS AND PLAYS. By W. B. Yeats. Macmillan. 1940. Pp. 126. 6s.

SCATTERING BRANCHES: Tributes to the Memory of W. B. Yeats. Edited by Stephen Gwynn. Macmillan, 1940. Pp. 229. 8s. 6d.

The wrapper of *Last Poems and Plays* quotes a critic declaring that these "include, astoundingly, almost every variety of form and tone he has used before, and of the twenty at least ten are as masterly as anything he has written." This is to say too much, I think. The

varieties of form and tone hardly go beyond those of Yeats's other late work. The poems are of the kinds he had been writing latterly, and few of them are equal to the best of those kinds. We frequently get flashes of power and beauty in pieces that are not altogether satisfying, probably because they are vaguer echoes of others written a few years earlier; in some cases it may be that the poems are unfinished. Two sorts of poem figure more largely than in the earlier collections, poems of crude animality and poems in the Irish ballad manner. The former are mostly artistic mistakes. The ballads are better art; but they will hardly rank very high in his work as a whole.

The real things in the book are the personal things, the old man's memories, his judgments on what he has seen, his preparation for the end—the cold eye cast on life and death. They are, of course, second recollections and second testaments these, but the subject—Yeats's strong personality, aloof and yet both richly friended and self-enriching—sustains them, and they will be remembered among his utterances. In six or seven poems we see the old man striving still to remake himself more worthy of his own esteem:—

> Grant me an old man's frenzy,
> Myself I must remake
> Till I am Timon and Lear
> Or that William Blake
> Who beat upon the wall
> Till Truth obeyed his call.

Such as these, and Michael Angelo, are the models he sets before him, and with these the ancestors whom his self-forged religion canonises:—

> Sandymount Corbets, that notable man
> Old William Pollexfen,
> The smuggler Middleton, Butlers far back,
> Half legendary men.

And ever the refrain recurs, *But I am not content.* Memories and former selves no less than ancestors embody themselves to question and reproach this man whose eye is always turned inward:—

> I lie awake night after night
> And never get the answers right.
> Did that play of mine send out
> Certain men the English shot?
> Did words of mine put too much strain
> On that woman's reeling brain?
> Could my spoken words have checked
> That whereby a house lay wrecked?
> And all seems evil until I
> Sleepless would lie down and die.

The last piece of all, *Under Ben Bulben*, is Yeats's final testament to his kind, who are not "the sort now growing up." Stoicism, re-incarnation, the reality of images alone and their command over all else, these are flung into coldly glowing words for the last time. The Irish poets, as makers of controlling images for our race, are exhorted to

> Scorn the sort now growing up
> All out of shape from toe to top,
> Their unremembering hearts and heads
> Base-born products of base beds.
> Sing the peasantry, and then
> Hard-riding country gentlemen,
> The holiness of monks, and after
> Porter-drinkers' randy laughter;
> Sing the lords and ladies gay
> That were beaten into the clay
> Through seven heroic centuries;
> Cast your mind on other days
> That we in coming days may be
> Still the indomitable Irishry.

The poem ends with the words he commands to be cut on his tombstone, as true to himself and almost as striking as Swift's:—

> Cast a cold eye
> On life, on death.
> Horseman, pass by!

A year having passed since the death of this greatest of our poets, a number of those best fitted to speak of him have joined their tributes in this other volume; they are Stephen Gwynn, Sir William Rothenstein, Lennox Robinson, W. G. Fay, Edmund Dulac, F. R. Higgins, C. Day Lewis, L. A. G. Strong.

Here is something more than the first hasty notices upon the poet's death, something to bridge the interval before there can be a full biography or a complete critical judgment. Let us glance first at the biographical material here given us. It will soon be evident to the reader that there are one or two who saw Yeats plain, who called him W. B. or even "Willie to his face," and yet have very little to say about him. Nobody has very much; there are no revelations. Mr. Strong indeed argues convincingly that there never will be any; Yeats's cunning in hiding himself in his poetry and the careful stylisation of his life will keep from the world any full knowledge of his emotional experience. But many of the things given us here are worth having. A painter tells of country walks with Yeats and how he had "no eye." (We knew already, and are told again, that

he had "no ear.") A characteristic trait is his insistence that Mr. Robinson should not wear a "made-up" dress tie. And we like this neat account of his greeting: "He came into a room with slow, deliberate steps, his hand raised in a gesture between a salute and a blessing." But perhaps most valuable are a few accounts of how he read and composed, for it is the poet rather than the man that even his friends knew best. "In reading his poetry, at any rate when he was reading it to two or three of his friends, his voice was musical and without affectation. He did not boom the verse as A.E. did, nor croon and chant as James Stephens does." Again, "He once told me that he composed all his poetry to either of two airs and he hummed them to me. I could make nothing out of them, not even a rhythm." These are from Mr. Robinson; Mr. Higgins's account is a little different: "I remember him telling me some years back that most of his poems were composed to some vague tune, some lilt. Indeed, when we were together, he sang in his own uncertain, shy way, some of these poems. Whenever these poems were again repeated, he always sang them to the same halting lilt." Mr. Dulac writes: "A word, a phrase would find an echo somewhere in his thoughts. He would sit beating his knee with one hand, or walk about the room, his words measured to his pace, muttering them over and over again in a sort of incantation. And if the magic worked, if the word, the phrase awakened a particularly exciting train of fitting associations, he would get all this out in simple, ordinary prose. Elaboration in poem form came afterwards."

Four of these papers contain criticism of value. Mr. Higgins says some excellent things, though unfortunately he keeps up an old confusion between "musical" in the musician's and the poet's sense. Mr. Robinson examines the plays closely, with all the expertness of one who knows the theory and practice of drama, and with the unique advantage of having produced the plays. Best of all are Mr. Day Lewis and Mr. Strong. Their papers are as good as anything that has yet been done on Yeats, sound scaffolds for the building of a definitive criticism. J. J. H.

Politics and Philosophy

THE PAPACY AND THE MODERN STATE. An Essay on the Political History of the Catholic Church. By F. R. Hoare. London: Burns Oates and Washbourne. 1940. 15s. net.

This book deals in a novel way with the familiar problem of how the Catholic Church is concerned with the State. Its main subject is the relation of the Church to the modern State, but this involves a wider consideration of the general historical problem. The treatment is not purely historical nor purely philosophical. The author aims at writing an historical essay which, as he explains, differs from history

in being an exposition of an idea or principle rather than a mere narrative of events, and differs from philosophy in expounding this idea through historical illustrations rather than by mere logical analysis. The result is a very interesting, thorough and novel method of approach, which will be of value both to the historian and to the political theorist.

It will have interest also for the ordinary reader, because it deals with problems which, while they vary from age to age, are always present and pressing problems. The principles of the relation of Church and State are always the same. They arise by an inevitable logic out of the nature of the Church and the nature of the State. But there is "a variable factor that accounts for the admittedly bewildering changes in the line of action adopted by the Church at different times in respect of apparently the same moral problems." "At one period, for example, Catholics were bidden to be loyal to rulers of unbounded personal wickedness and persecuting ferocity, while at another they might be released from their obedience to a ruler guilty of a single flagrant breach of the Christian law of marriage. On one occasion, a prelate, faithfully interpreting the mind of the Church, defended to the point of martyrdom the exemption of the clergy from the judgment of the King's Courts even in criminal cases; and a few centuries later the Catholic clergy almost everywhere were acquiescing without protest in the State's jurisdiction over them in all secular affairs."

Such apparent inconsistencies and variations could be multiplied indefinitely. Mr. Hoare proposes, by putting them into an historical scheme, to show that they are applications of the same principles to widely different circumstances, that the Church's action is always reducible to the same formula. The Church has a twofold action upon the political community. She guides her members within the State. They are her subjects, and she is the supreme and ultimate source of moral truth. She can also address her exhortations and judgments to the State itself as it were from outside. These two activities of the Church vary greatly in their relations at different periods of history and in different countries.

Mr. Hoare distinguishes four typical cases of this relation. In the first case the Catholic religion is banned by the State and Catholics are outlaws with no political rights. In the second case Catholics have the same political rights as other citizens, but there is no public recognition of the authority of the Church. In the third case the political community is entirely a Catholic community. At this stage, of course, Church and State are not identical; but the State is a Catholic community in the sense that practically all its members are Catholics and that Catholic principles have a determining influence on its institutions and laws. The fourth case is an ideal quasi-theocracy,

with two administrative hierarchies, ecclesiastical and civil. It can exist only over Christendom as a whole—and then only on condition that Christendom is a whole and that one political society embraces all Christians, who live in Catholic unity. This last conception provides the final term of the logical sequence. How far this sequence has roots in the logic of history as well as in the logic of ideas is the subject of Mr. Hoare's inquiry.

Mr. Hoare carries this inquiry through the entire history of the Christian Church, and the relation of Church and State at different historical periods will be seen to fit into the logical scheme which he outlines at the begininng. The relation of the Church to the early Roman Empire is an example of the first typical case. At the height of the medieval period we find an illustration of the third type of relation —an approach to a system of universal Christianity within an extensive, if still limited, area. In many of the modern Liberal States we find the second type of relation, in which Catholics have the same political rights as other citizens, but there is no public recognition of the authority of the Church. Some of the Liberal States, however, approximate to the first type, in which religion is banned or suffers from definite disabilities. The logical categories are not rigid, and it is often difficult to say into which type a particular regime fits. Nor can political systems be judged altogether by the occasional statements of their leaders. Mr. Hoare points out, for example, that Fascist pronouncements are frequently unchristian. But he thinks that in practice Fascism is very empirical and adapts itself to circumstance. It is not the result, as Marxism is, of a philosophy from which it is rigorously deduced. It has, therefore, a greater power of accommodation to circumstance and may work out an uneasy *modus vivendi* with the Church. D. O'K.

THE PROBLEM OF MATTER AND FORM IN THE "DE ENTE ET ESSENTIA" OF THOMAS AQUINAS. By John Goheen. Cambridge (Mass.): Harvard University Press; London: Milford. 1940. 12s.

SAINT THOMAS AND THE GREEKS. By Anton C. Pegis. Milwaukee: Marquette University Press. 1939. $1.00.

The cooperation of one generation with another, which is tradition, is one of the reasons for the strength of Scholasticism. That is why it is now recognised that students of St. Thomas must establish his intellectual ancestry. Each of these two little studies from America is a contribution to that work; one exemplifies St. Thomas's opposition to the Jewish and Arab "schismatical" Aristoteleans, the other his never uncritical allegiance to the ancient Greeks.

Mr. Goheen shows the influence of St. Thomas's hostility to Avicebron

on the Thomistic philosophy. Actually it was the open pantheism and latent materialism of Avicebron that raised his hackles; so he treated lightly the same doctrine when it was proposed by St. Augustine. Briefly the doctrine was that all creatures, even pure spirits, were composed of matter and form. What is not self-subsisting (or, as Augustine says, what is caused and therefore mutable) subsists in a substratum. Hence everything but God is composed. But the only substantial composition mentioned clearly by either Plato or Aristotle is that of matter and form. Hence, Avicebron concluded, this is the composition that is found in all creatures. St. Thomas saw that this doctrine led logically to materialism—in particular to the denial of the immortality of the human soul. So he attacked it with his famous doctrine of the real distinction between essence and existence, already proposed in a crude form by Avicenna and even by the Neoplatonists. This distinction was found in all creatures, but composition from matter and form was peculiar to bodies.

There are some inaccuracies of detail in Mr. Goheen's work. For instance *intellectus spiritualitatis* in the context means "the intellect of (pure) spirits," not "the spiritual intellect." Again it is intimated (p. 12) that St. Thomas believed the substantial form of corporeity to be identical with matter and that "this stage is quantity." St. Thomas, though he seems to have held the theory of the plurality of forms in his youth, never admitted that any form was identical with matter (*numquam denudatur a corporeitate* does not connote identity with corporeity) nor that quantity, an accident, could be identified with a substantial composite. Nevertheless Mr. Goheen's is a useful and stimulating little work.

Dr. Pegis's masterly lecture shows St. Thomas confronting the whole problem of pantheism, an offshoot of which is Mr. Goheen's subject. It also shows St. Thomas as an independent thinker and an acute critic of his sources. The Neoplatonists and the Arabs had argued that, since God is Goodness Itself, He therefore by the necessity of the nature of goodness communicated His goodness to others. The world therefore contributes to the perfection of God and requires a pantheistic philosophy. St. Thomas replied that Goodness must be infinite and so could require nothing more than Itself for perfection. And he proceeded to develop the doctrine of free creation that is comprised in much of the *Summa contra Gentiles* and ably summarised by Dr. Pegis. It is too elaborate for further consideration here. But had Dr. Pegis noted more expressly the mitigated optimism of that dazzling work, he might have stressed less St. Thomas's hostility and more his debt to his adversaries. As of Aristotle's philosophy so, after all, of Plato's he was less the opponent than the emendator.

A. L.

(*The list of books received has been unavoidably held over*)

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